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RABELAIS
IN HIS WRITINGS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

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LONDON
FETTER LANE, E.C. 4



EDINBURGH
100 PRINCES STREET

NEW YORK: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
BOMBAY, CALCUTTA, MADRAS: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.
TORONTO: J. M. DENT AND SONS, LTD.
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RABELAIS
IN HIS WRITINGS

BY

W. F. SMITH, M.A.

FELLOW OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1918

PREFACE

THIS little book is intended to furnish a kind of running commentary on the various phases of the life and writings of François Rabelais in the light of modern research, and to present the opinions expressed by the several characters in his books on matters that arise from the monkish, religious, legal, medical and other points of view, as expressed in the narrative or by interlocutors in the dialogue, and to point out some of the sources of the erudition embodied in the romance.

In order rightly to appreciate the work of this author it is more than usually necessary to examine with minute care the writings themselves, the fortunes and circumstances of the writer at the various times of their composition, and the position and influence of the personages in the political and religious world who encouraged or thwarted his efforts to comfort his patients, support his country, advocate the cause of his friends and requite the ill-usage of his enemies, by his genial humour, his stinging satire and powerful invective.

He had attained this power and the means for these purposes by strenuous work in the humanistic studies so vigorously prosecuted at that time and by thus becoming a learned and skilful opponent of his lifelong adversaries. To follow this up it has been necessary,

among other things, to investigate the sources from which he derived his wide and varied learning, whether from Homer, Hesiod and the Latin poets, the Vulgate, the ancient historians, philosophers, physicians, antiquarians, legists and geographers, and the voluminous humanistic writers and commentators thereon, or again from the poets, satirical writers and romancers of his own times as well as the moralities and mystery-plays, and the fugitive broadsides hawked about by itinerant pedlars. A complete bibliography would occupy many pages.

From such a medley Rabelais composed the four or five "books" which he wrote to forward the interests of his friends and his patients and to exasperate his enemies. He not only succeeded in these purposes, but he has given a book to the world which has instructed, puzzled and amused later writers and has helped to pass on the torch of learning and literature to many leading spirits of other ages and countries, to keep alight for future generations.

W. F. S.

18 *August* 1917

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R.R. Le Roman de la Rose, ed. Francisque Michel.

C.N.N. Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles.

A.P.F. Anciennes poésies françaises des xv^{ème} et xvi^{ème} siècles.

R.E.R. Revue des études rabelaisiennes. 1903-.

RABELAIS IN HIS WRITINGS

In recent times much has been achieved by careful research in determining the status and surroundings of François Rabelais and his family, as well as in fixing the date of his birth and the sources of his learning and inspiration.

The old view that he was born in 1483—the birth-year of Raphael, Luther and old Thomas Parr—at the inn *La Lamproie* in a street in Chinon, and that he was the son of the inn-keeper, has been completely disproved and exploded by the careful investigations of MM. Lefranc, Grimaud and H. Clouzot, and other members of the *Société des Études Rabelaisiennes*, published in their Review (*R.E.R.*). The results have been obtained by minute examinations and interpretations of the writings of Rabelais, as well as by collating and sifting external evidence in the way of local registers and deeds in various provinces of France.

First as to his birth-year, which rests on the evidence of a note of his burial at St Paul's cemetery, *rue des Jardins*, Paris, to the effect that at that time (April 1553) he was 70 years of age. This would make him out to be born in 1483. M. Lefranc has shewn, and careful readers readily admit, that Rabelais' statements of fact, even in the midst of his highest flights of imagination, are nearly always exact. In the *Gargantua*

Grandgousier represents Rabelais' father—we shall recur to this—and throughout the *Pantagruel* and the *Gargantua* may be found frequent references to the author's relatives and personal friends, and the romance is very often autobiographical. M. Lefranc draws attention (*R.E.R.* vi. p. 266) to *G.* 4-7, where Gargantua's birth is fixed on the 4th of February and it is recorded that Gargamelle, his mother, had eaten a quantity of tripe, most of which was to be salted on Shrove Tuesday, so as to be eaten during that Lenten season. He then examines the calendars for the years 1488-96, and finds that only in the year 1494 does Shrove Tuesday fall at a time when such salting could have taken place; for Easter fell on March 30, and therefore Shrove Tuesday is fixed for February 12, and cattle that were killed on February 3 might supply beef which could be salted on February 12. M. Lefranc then goes on to point out from Rabelais (*G.* 13) that at the end of the fifth year of Gargantua's life his father Grandgousier returning from the conquest of the Canarians paid a visit to his young son. This is with great reasonableness referred to the return of Louis XII from the conquest of the Milanese between August and October 1499. This would fix the birth-year of Rabelais at 1494. Another point is made in noting the age of Panurge when he first meets Pantagruel (*Pant.* c. 9). He is said to be 35, and the date of this meeting is naturally placed in 1530, at the time "when all disciplines are restored and the teaching of the ancient tongues is renewed." In March 1530 the royally appointed lecturers began to teach, while Gargantua's letter to his son Pantagruel containing his scheme of

education (*Pant.* c. 8) is dated March 17. Thus if Panurge is 35 when he meets Pantagruel in 1530 he must have been born about 1494 or 1495.

Another suggestion based also on an interpretation of our author's words is permissible. In c. 9 of the *Pantagrueline Prognostication* we read: "The Stars have been there [in the heavens] *I assure you*, more than sixteen thousand and I know not how many days." 16,070 days is 44 years. This second part of the *Prognostication* was written in 1533. If this means that he was 44 years of age then, his birth-year would be 1489.

The origin and relationships of Rabelais may best be seen by the following scheme, compiled from the investigation given in the *R.E.R.*

Few writers have suffered so much as Rabelais from prejudice, caused, in part at least, by the attitude of his own writings. Fired by the recently developed Humanism, he adopted all too easily the belief so much fostered by Horace that no one who was a water-drinker, who was not devoted to the inspiration from Bacchic enthusiasm, could achieve the distinctive title of poet. Alcaeus, Homer and Ennius are claimed as instances of the truth of this theory, which also seems to derive considerable support from the Platonic theory of "enthusiasm" developed in the *Phaedrus*. It is supported in Erasmus' *Adagia* by articles such as *Multi thyrsigeri pauci Bacchi*, and seems to have been accepted as a truism. Thus then Rabelais represented his *Pantagruel* as the hero who abolished thirst in the land of the Dipsodes (the thirsty race), the hero of jollity and contentment in spite of all the attacks of

Cf. *R.E.R.* III. 48, 367, IV. 228.

†ca. 1480 N....Rabelais = Andrée Pavin = (2) Frapin

(†1534) Antoine R. I. = — Dusoul

Seigneur de St George
Chanoine d'Angers (iv. prol.)

4 sons

— Frapin = Delopiteau

(†ca. 1559) Antoine R. II Jamet R. = Marie* Gaudete François = (1534) René Falke FRANÇOIS

Marie R. = Pierre Duchamp

(†before 1577) Thomas I = Renée Billaud
(apothécaire)

Perrine = Jehan Duchamp

Jacquette = Jehan Derasmo (1581)

(†ca. 1616) Antoine III = (1578) Andrée Jousseau
(apothécaire)

Catherine Degonnes = Charles Derasmo

— Marie 1609

(†ca. 1630) Thomas II = Françoise Lasnier
(procureur)

(*R.E.R.* II. 171) *La Lamproie* held by

* (*R.E.R.* IV. 154-84) Jehanne Gaudete—Jamet
Brahier (iv. I. 20) September 28, 1543.

Degonnes Etienne 1590-1610

— Pierre 1610-1641

— Etienne 1641-1649

Courtois Michel 1649-1673

Veuve Courtois 1673-1680

Javelle Urbain 1680-1700

Babu Claude 1700-1705

Veuve Babu 1705-1724

Renard Louis 1724-1740

fortune. The repetition of this characteristic, little as it is borne out by the actual conduct of the humane, kindly and highly educated prince Pantagruel, has gone very far to cause the writer to be looked upon as a drunken buffoon. Added to this the subsequent transference of the hostelry known as *La Lamproie* to a house that had belonged to the Rabelais family has confirmed and stereotyped assertions to this effect, till the belief has become inveterate and all but ineradicable.

A house in the street *La Lamproie*, No. 15, belonged to Rabelais' father, and in 1590 was turned into an inn; later, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, this hostelry was transferred to its present site No. 2, where it still exists as an inn. Another assertion, that his father was an apothecary, is demonstrably false. The son of an apothecary was received into the medical profession without fees, whereas the record of the fees paid by François Rabelais is extant at Montpellier.

In fact the father of Rabelais, M^e Antoine Rabelais, *licencié ès lois*, was a considerable person in Chinonais and the possessor of various properties in the neighbourhood: (I) La Devinière, the farm and vineyard where François Rabelais was born, belonged to Antoine Rabelais I (1505-34); it devolved to Antoine II, our author's brother, till 1559, when it descended to his son Thomas, who was an *apothécaire*. (II) Chavigny-en-Vallée in the commune of Varennes-sur-Loire. This came to the family through Andrée Pavin, grandmother of F. Rabelais. (III) Gravot in the commune of Bourgueil. (IV) La Pommardière in the commune of Seillé. Smaller properties also belonged to the family: (1) Les Quinquenais, a small country-house, (2) le clos

Rabelais in the commune of Seuillé, (3) le grand clos Rabelais, (4) half-an-acre near the Mill-bridge (*moulin du pont*), (5) le pré Rabelais, in the commune of Sinais, near Pontillé, where the cows fed that provided milk for the child Gargantua. All these places are mentioned in the course of the story, some of them several times.

François Rabelais was born then about 1490 at La Devinière, a small hamlet close to Seuillé and three or four miles from Chinon, and it is of this neighbourhood and the country-side that he delights to speak in his "books," especially in the *Gargantua*. He had two brothers Antoine and Jamet and a sister Françoise, all older than himself, and being the youngest he was destined for a life in the cloister. Of this he seems to speak with some bitterness in the *Fifth Book*, c. 4, employing, as he so often does, an illustrative story which he found in Athenaeus or Erasmus (*Apophthegmata*) and adapts thus: "I do marvel whether the mothers in the other world can bear their children nine months in their womb, seeing that they cannot bear them nor brook them in their houses nine years, nay most often not seven; but by putting only a shirt over their robe and cutting a few hairs on the top of their heads, together with certain expiatory words, they...transform them into birds (i.e. monks), such as you see before you."

This makes it extremely probable that the youthful François was given the tonsure at the age of seven. He was sent to school at the neighbouring Cluniac, or Benedictine, monastery at Seuillé. As a boy we may fancy him roaming about the country in obedience to his inquisitive nature and making acquaintance with

all the villages within a radius of fifteen miles or so. The numerous properties of his father in the neighbourhood would enable him to wander considerably in visiting them, and he would naturally visit the paternal house in Chinon and learn all about the streets and the castle which dominates the town. All this appears in the pages of the *Gargantua* and in various allusions in other books.

Besides the documentary evidence that has been got together by the local antiquaries, it is to the *Gargantua* that we must specially look for indications of the circumstances of Rabelais' early life, just as we find in the *Pantagruel* autobiographical touches concerning his early manhood in Poitou and Paris.

In the fourteenth chapter of *Gargantua* we find a list of books which formed his early studies. Some allowance must be made for exaggeration, but undoubtedly the books there recited formed the staple education of the boys of that time. This is confirmed by similar allusions in Erasmus, Maturin Cordier the grammarian, and others.

His first preceptor was Thubal Holofernes. The name is derived from a *Pronostication nouvelle*, one of the many broad-sheets hawked about by pedlars at that time, which formed so much of the reading among such of the people as could read. It is one of the eight *Pronostications* which have been collected and published by A. de Montaignon and James de Rothschild in the thirteen volumes of their *Anciennes poésies françaises inédites des xv^{ème} et xvi^{ème} siècles*. They date its appearance about 1525. Curiously, Holofernes is the name of the pedagogue in Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*.

How Shakespeare, who does not appear to have had a first-hand acquaintance with Rabelais, came to adopt this name is difficult to say. No doubt numerous parallel expressions are to be found employed by both writers, but they are generally proverbial phrases current both in England and in France; these may be due to the frequent presence in France of English soldiers during the Hundred Years' War; many such parallels may be found in the *Anciennes poésies françaises*. Very few resemblances of a striking kind appear to be common to Rabelais and Shakespeare. It is also curious to note that several coincidences may be discovered in Chaucer and Rabelais, due of course to their deriving from a common source. Shakespeare also may have learnt something from the more learned Ben Jonson, who certainly possessed a copy of Rabelais.

After Thubal Holofernes had taught him the alphabet forwards and backwards Rabelais learnt Donatus, or his Latin grammar, and Facetus, Theodolet and Alanus in *Parabolis*. These three books were comprised in the *Autores octo morales*, a school-book much in vogue then, though now not easily found. They contained precepts in conduct and morals, mostly in leonine or rhyming Latin hexameters, with occasional pentameters. Other tracts of this series were the *Moral Distichs* of Dionysius Cato, consisting of sentences in terse Latin, followed by a number of maxims in pairs of Latin hexameters. They form a contrast to the other tracts by being written in good, not monkish, Latin, having been composed probably in the fifth or sixth century. Then follow a selection of Aesop's Fables in elegiacs and a paraphrase of the book of

Tobias (Tobit) in the same metre. In the margin of these tracts were printed maxims derived from Latin poets. It seems probable that this book (*Autores octo morales*) formed part of the educational system on which the youthful Rabelais was brought up; some of these maxims are to be found in his writings.

These books are followed in the list by others of a more advanced stage, dictionaries and grammar-books mixed with ecclesiastical manuals such as the *Computus*, a book of calculations for finding Easter, and even a book of sermons in four volumes under the name of *Dormi securè*. This title means that *the preacher* may sleep soundly by the aid of this book, which will provide him with matter for many sermons.

All this instruction rendered Gargantua an utter booby, and when he was brought in contact with another young French gentleman who had been brought up under another system—probably intended for that of Erasmus—and who makes an address after the model given by Erasmus in his *Monita paedagogica*, or hints on education, in the *Colloquia*, the contrast was too striking for his father Grandgousier. He at once placed the boy under another tutor, who took him to Paris and put him under a rational system, which Rabelais now describes in contrast to the discarded method.

This new plan is probably one which Rabelais had carefully elaborated by the aid of Erasmus's *Institutio Principis Christiani*, drawn up for the benefit of the youthful Charles V, and also of the system of the great Mantuan educationalist Vittorino da Feltre. Hints may also have been taken from Guillaume Budé

(*Budaens*), the learned French scholar who befriended Rabelais and Pierre Amy his brother-student in the cloister, and with whom a correspondence had passed, which fortunately is preserved.

It must not be taken for granted that this was the education that Rabelais enjoyed, excepting perhaps the first part of it, at the seminary at Seuillé. He probably learned but little there, and subsequently as little at the clerical institution of La Baumette, near Angers, whither, according to tradition, he was sent to complete his education before entering the cloister.

Of his life at La Baumette we know but little. It was a Franciscan convent and seminary for priests founded by René d'Anjou on the model of Sainte-Baume in Provence. Rabelais is said to have formed a friendship there with a fellow-student, Geoffroi d'Estissac, afterwards bishop of Maillezais in Poitou, and with Jean, the second son of the great du Bellay family, which possessed large estates in Maine as well as at la Sarthe near Angers. This however is only tradition. Du Bellay was afterwards Bishop of Paris and Cardinal, and both these prelates exercised later a considerable influence on the fortunes of Rabelais.

If he learnt but little in the way of books at La Baumette, traces of his residence at Angers, on the borders of Brittany, are to be found in his romance. He mentions La Baumette in *G.* 12, shewing some acquaintance with its topography. Angers was visited by the youthful Pantagruel in *P.* 5. There lived Canon Frapin, Seigneur de St George, son of Rabelais' grandmother *en secondes noces*; in *IV.* A.P. he is styled "an old uncle." It is mentioned in *IV.* 13 as celebrated for

its miracle-plays. Rennes in Brittany is noted for its bells (*P.* 26). The Channel Islands are visited (iv. 66) and St Malo is the harbour from which Pantagruel's fleet sets out (iv. 1). In iii. 30 Judge Bridlegoose is styled deputy-governor of Fonsbeton. As Myrelingues, the province in which this place is situated, is almost certainly intended for Brittany, it seems permissible to conjecture that Fonsbeton is intended for Beton or Betton, a small place a few miles N. of Rennes—*du fin fons Betton*, just as Thaumast in *P.* 20 said that he had come *du fin fond d'Angleterre*. In the *Grandes Croniques de l'énorme géant Gargantua*, known, and possibly written by Rabelais, some of the scenes are laid in Brittany. All this exhibits Rabelais in the light in which we constantly see him throughout his books, eagerly acquainting himself with the features of the country in which he happens to reside.

About 1511 tradition tells us that he was transferred to the Franciscan convent at Fontenay-le-Comte near Niort in Poitou, and here it was that he laid the foundation of his extraordinary erudition. He would be about 17 at this time, supposing him to have been born in 1494, and we learn from his "Petition on account of Apostasy" addressed to Paul III that he was admitted as a Brother Minor of the Observance, the strictest sect of the Franciscans, and that he proceeded to all the orders up to the Priesthood. Our information on this important period of his life is derived almost entirely from this petition, from correspondence of his friends and contemporaries as well as his own correspondence (three letters) with Guillaume Budé. It may be gathered with a fair amount of

certainly that he had formed a close friendship with Pierre Amy, one of the brothers, and that the two had worked together to good purpose in acquiring a knowledge of classical writers and especially of Greek. Amy had been known to Budé and no doubt the two studious brethren had been prompted and assisted by the great scholar to become humanists and follow his own example. For after wasting his early years of instruction in Paris and at Orléans, where he was supposed to study law, Budé took up classical learning with such unremitting ardour that he became the first scholar in France. Among his correspondence are two letters to Amy in Latin and two in Greek, also one in Latin to Rabelais and one almost entirely in Greek. The genuineness of the letter of Rabelais to Budaeus can hardly now be questioned, for it has been published in the *R.E.R.* in photogravure and is manifestly in the beautiful handwriting of Rabelais.

The glimpses we get of his life in the convent at Fontenay, derived mostly from letters and writings of his friends, reveal to us a man such as we should expect from his book, kindly, sociable, witty, studious, and after he has been prompted by the companionship of Amy and the favour of Budé, keenly anxious to master the newly-discovered Hellenic literature. He was visited occasionally by learned friends, André Tiraqueau, a distinguished jurist of Poitou, afterwards member of the *Parlement* of Paris, the advocate Jean Bouchet, Amaury Bouchard, a King's Counsel and Master of the Requests, and Geoffroi d'Estissac, Bishop of Maillezais, his old acquaintance at La Baumette, when the friends had discussions on various points of learning

under "the arbour of laurels" in the convent garden. The harmony of this *côterie* was curiously disturbed by the publication of a book by Bouchard in defence of the female sex against a treatise of Tiraqueau *de legibus connubialibus et jure maritali*, in which women had been treated with scant respect. This had been published in 1513, while Bouchard's book appeared from the house of Badius Ascensius in Paris (Almarici Bouchardi *feminei sexus apologia* adversus Andream Tiraquellum. Paris, Josse Badius Ascensius, 1522). In this book is to be found the following reference to Amy: "quae si alio animo impositae videantur judicet ille sodalis Francisci: qui quod est, id vere et amicus nuncupatur; quem veluti testem incorruptum industriis et ignaviis his affuturum spero." A letter from Pierre Amy to Tiraqueau also is extant, in which he seems to refer to a breach in the friendship of Bouchard and Tiraqueau. It contains the following passage: "Angor enim vehementer cum prospicio sicuti, Almarici causa, a te atque a nostro Rabeleso eruditissimo sodalium Franciscanorum, quorum desiderio maceror, diu abductus fui: ita ad vos...redire non posse nisi ab Almarici delitiis vicissim divellar."

In 1524 Tiraqueau published at the press of Galliot du Pré, the Paris printer, a second edition of his book *Commentarii in Pictonum consuetudines. Sectio de legibus connubialibus*, and in the preface he complains bitterly of his friend Bouchard for attacking and inveighing against the first edition, which he declares had been purloined and printed without his leave or knowledge, being only the first part, while he was busy preparing the rest. There is a tradition arising

from this that Rabelais and Amy were called in to arbitrate on this point between the two friends. In a later passage f^o. 117, 2 Tiraqueau recurs to this action of Bouchard, in which he repeats the charge of attacking a book written by a very young man, and a book that had been printed without the author's knowledge. He speaks of Bouchard *ut qui semper feminis placere quam viris potius studuit*, and two pages later writes thus, addressing Bouchard: "Sed temperare non possum quin dicam id quod et noster ille Franciscus Rabelesus, sodalis Franciscanus, vir utraque lingua doctissimus pronuntiavit simul ac librum tuum perlegit, Invidia scilicet maxima apud mulieres me flagraturum esse si librum tuum *γυναικοκρατούμενός τις*, id est tui similis, in vernaculum verterit."

In a letter of dedication prefixed to an edition of the *Epistolae medicinales* of Manardi, a distinguished Ferrarese physician, Rabelais speaks with great commendation of the treatise of Tiraqueau, which he styles *ὑπομνήματα in Pictonum leges municipales*. The *Sectio de legibus connubialibus* was a part of this, and Rabelais earnestly begs for the completion of it. It was completed in 1545, and the *Sectio* was still farther developed, with large additions and some suppressions, and prepared for the press by his kinsman Michel Tiraqueau. Rabelais must have seen this either in manuscript or while it was passing through the press, because the bulk of the thirty-first, thirty-second and thirty-seventh chapters of the *Third Book*, published early in 1546, as well as much matter in other parts of the same book, are obviously derived from Tiraqueau, whose book, as well as Rabelais' *Third Book* (1552), was published by

Fezandat. These chapters are given as the discourse of Rondibilis the physician, and deal minutely with the sexual conditions and relations of women, and it seems fairly probable that offence was thus given to Tiraqueau, who was now member of the *Parlement* of Paris; for there is no trace of any further relations between the two men; and moreover Tiraqueau was one of the twelve members of the *Conseil du Parlement* when Rabelais' *Fourth Book* was brought up for discussion in the beginning of 1552. The printer was censured (*R.E.R.* iv. 388) and Tiraqueau uttered no word of defence on behalf of his former friend.

This controversy between Bouchard and Tiraqueau is important as forming an episode in the *Querelle des Femmes*, dating in France perhaps from the *Roman de la Rose* of the fourteenth century. The second writer of this book, Jean de Meung, who continues the poem of Guillaume Loris from line 4668 to the end (line 22, 818), shews himself a most strenuous vilifier of the female sex. Writers on both sides appeared from time to time in the succeeding centuries, one of the best defenders of women being the elegant writer Christine de Pisan. Rabelais by the plan of his *Third Book* was bound to be adverse to women, but from the extract of Tiraqueau given above, he was already claimed as a partisan.

But the turning-point in Rabelais' life was to come about this time. The Lutheran revolt had culminated, and going on *pari passu* with it was the Renaissance movement of Humanism, with its Greek and Hebrew studies and the translation of Aristotle and the Bible. Erasmus's edition of the New Testament and his Para-

phrases had caused alarm in many of the monasteries, where the monks were sluggish and ignorant by choice, and could barely read their Breviary and Vulgate, to say nothing of understanding them. The Franciscans of Fontenay now took fright and visited the two studious brothers Amy and Rabelais with their displeasure, confiscated their books and treated the brothers rigorously. This is established by Budé's second letter to Rabelais dated Paris January 27, 1524 (a date established by Mr Tilley in *R.E.R.* vi. 47), and by another to Amy of February 26, beginning: "O by the God of Friendship and the Founder of your Brotherhood, what is this that we have just heard? I learn that you, my valued friend, and your Theseus, Rabelais, have been invaded and harassed by these culture-hating brethren of yours on account of your excessive zeal in Greek studies, and are vilely and shamefully ill-treated. O the unconquerable perversity of these men!" The letter concludes: "Farewell, and give a fourfold greeting from me to the wise and gifted Rabelais, either by word of mouth or by letter when you write." An earlier letter to Amy ends thus: "Please greet from me Rabelais, who is associated with you and the sharer of your studies."

The brothers were restored to their studies by powerful influence, but they naturally could not feel themselves secure. Amy made his escape from the convent by some means or other, taking the hint as Rabelais tells us (III. 10) from the line "*Heu fuge crudeles terras, fuge litus avarum!*" which turned up when he consulted the *Sortes Vergilianae*. Of his subsequent fate we are not informed, excepting that

Erasmus tells us in a letter to Jacobus Tussanus (xxvi. ep. 4 fin.), dated Freiburg, March 12, 1531, that the Petrus Amicus, to whom Budaëus had addressed letters, had been brought to Bâle by Joannes Lascanus Polonus, and that he had taken a chill and died and been buried *as a layman* among the Franciscans.

Rabelais escaped in another way. He obtained an indult from Pope Clement VII permitting his transference from the Order of Brothers Minors to that of St Benedict in the Church of Maillezais, in the diocese of which Geoffroi d'Estissac was bishop. This was a relief to him and an agreeable change; the bishop was learned himself and a patron of learned men, whom he delighted to gather round him. This we know from a rhyming letter of Rabelais to Jean Bouchet inviting him to the Bishop's seat at Ligugé and from Bouchet's answer. It seems that the Bishop, who was a learned canonist, delighted to get round him the legal luminaries who had formed part of the *côterie* at Fontenay, and to enjoy their conversation and discussions on literary and legal questions. To all these worthies Rabelais when established at Lyons in 1532 dedicated some of his work and fortunately the letters of dedication have been preserved, giving us some idea of their gifts and of the kindly relations subsisting between them and our author. The transference to the Benedictines took place probably towards the end of 1524, or even later, for it would take some time to get an indult from Rome, even with the help of the Bishop's influence.

And now we come to a period in which Rabelais' movements are not definitely known. In the second petition which he made to Paul III he says that he

remained at Maillezais several years (*in eoque per plures annos mansit*). In *Pant.* c. 5 the youthful Pantagruel starting from Poitiers visits the other Universities of France, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Montpellier, Avignon, Valence, Angers, Bourges, Orléans, Paris. Antoine Leroy, who was *curé* of Meudon (about third in succession after Rabelais) and who collected stories from the old inhabitants concerning his predecessor, wrote in his *Elogia Rabelaisiana*: "Rabelaesus Gallicus omnes scientiarum bonarumque artium academias sub Pantagruelis nomine peragravit." Evidently a reference is intended to this chapter and it is to be taken as true that Rabelais did at some time in his life visit these places. Angers, we have seen, he knew before; in the other places he passed a short time, and studied law at Bourges, which he mentions again in *P.* 29, whereas it has been established by Mr Tilley in his book *François Rabelais*, chapter I, pp. 29-30, that he must have studied medicine in Paris during the years 1528-30 in order to take his degree of Bachelor of Medicine at Montpellier in December 1530, of which the attestation in the records of that University is in Rabelais' own handwriting. M. Lefranc comes to the same conclusion (*R.E.R.* vi. 40) on other grounds, and both writers appeal to the extraordinarily exact acquaintance with Paris shewn in the sixteenth and other chapters of the *Pantagruel*. M. Lefranc also points out that in all probability Rabelais resided at the *Hostel St Denis* (Pantagruel's lodging in *P.* 18), which from being originally a royal residence had become towards the end of the fifteenth century a college for Benedictine students, St Denis being closely connected

with the Benedictines of Maillezais. He suggests also that it was not till he left Paris for Montpellier, in 1530 that Rabelais abandoned the monkish habit. Rabelais' own account is: "absque licentia sui superioris a dicta Ecclesia discedens, regulari dimisso et Praesbyteri secularis habitu assumpto, per seculum diu vagatus fuit, eoque tempore durante Facultati Medicinae diligenter operam dedit et in ea gradus ad hoc requisitos suscepit et publice professus est." In a later *supplicatio* (dated probably 1536) he says: "Postmodum sine Religionis habitu profectus est in Montem-pessulanum ibidemque in facultate Medicinae studuit, publice legit per plures annos et gradus omnes, etiam Doctoratus, ibidem in praedicta facultate Medicinae suscepit et praxim ibidem et alibi in multis locis per annos multos exercuit." There is every reason for believing in a two-year residence in Paris, and this confirmation is very welcome.

His matriculation and baccalaureat in Medicine are attested in his own handwriting in the registers of the University of Montpellier dated respectively September 17 and December 1¹, 1530. As a bachelor he gave *courses* of lectures on the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates and the *Ars Medica* of Galen to crowded audiences with great success. Besides this and his mention of Scurronus (= Jean Schyron) the Chancellor of Montpellier in iv. 43, there is but little to record of his residence in Montpellier.

In the beginning of 1532 Rabelais migrated from Montpellier to Lyons, with the object of getting his

¹ By a slip Rabelais has written November 1 instead of December 1.

lectures published by Sebastian Gryphius, the celebrated printer, who was to Lyons almost what Aldus Manutius was to Venice. Whereas Aldus printed many Greek books, Gryphius printed a few Greek and many Latin books, nearly all ancient classics, or commentaries and translations from the Greek by the humanists, and he is recorded to have published only two books in French. But at Lyons, which was at this time an intellectual centre hardly second to Paris, there were many printers and among them Claude Nourry and his successor François Juste, who printed the *Pantagruel* and the *Gargantua*. It is probable that Rabelais was soon employed by Gryphius as corrector of his press; but his reputation in humanism as well as in medicine had preceded him and he was doubtless welcomed by the learned printers of Lyons. This enabled him to amuse his leisure time in reading the chivalric romances, which presented in vigorous prose the subjects of the *Chansons de geste*. These were eagerly read at the time, notwithstanding their almost interminable length; their influence may easily be seen not only in the *Grandes Croniques*, which is formed on the Arthurian Merlin and Lancelot du Lac, but in the *Pantagruel* which is founded on the Carolingian romances such as Fierabras, Galien Réthoré and others. After the publication by Gryphius of the Medical Letters of Manardi (June 3, 1532), the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates (July 15), the Will of Cuspidius etc. (September 4), Rabelais was appointed physician to the Hospital at Lyons at the rate of 40 *livres* a year, an advance of 10 *livres* on the salary of his predecessor.

Inspired by the reading of the chivalric romances Rabelais either composed or edited a crude giant-story

entitled *Les grandes et inestimables Croniques du grand et énorme géant Gargantua*, founded, as has been said, on the Arthurian romances of Merlin and Lancelot du Lac. King Arthur himself furnishes the title for a Breton and British romance, while the giant Gargantua and his feats, with traces of his presence, are to be found in many places in France, especially in Brittany. The slight framework of the story is simply the creation of Grand Gosier and Galemelle by Merlin, the birth and apparelling of their son Gargantua, his transport over the sea to England on a cloud raised by Merlin, his taking service with King Arthur in England and his conquest of the Irish and the Hollanders for the King. Several of the episodes of this *fabliau* are adopted later in Rabelais' *Gargantua*, and it is this book that is so warmly commended in the Prologue to the *Pantagruel*, whether it was written by Rabelais or not.

LES GRANDES CRONICQUES

The authorship of *Les grandes et inestimables Croniques du grand et énorme géant Gargantua* has been much disputed. It has been maintained that Rabelais was the author, principally on the ground that the Prologue to *Pantagruel* is occupied almost entirely by a panegyric on its transcendent merits, and in promising *Pantagruel* as another book of the same kind but still better credit. There is also the fact that in the *Gargantua* Rabelais employs several of the episodes recorded in this *fabliau*. This has led to the belief that

the *Gargantua* was intended to be a much improved edition of the *Grandes Cronicques*. An objection has been raised that the style is too crude and almost puerile to allow the composition of it by the gifted author of the *Gargantua*. Against this it has been argued that the style as well as the matter of the *fabliau* has been imitated in this piece; also that the style of the *Gargantua* is very much superior to that of the *Pantagruel*, and that Rabelais progresses in power as he gains experience.

On the other side M. Lefranc urges that nowhere in this Prologue does Rabelais declare himself the author of the little book, notwithstanding his strong commendations of it; that the crudeness of it is too great to allow of its composition by the great Tourangeau. The publication of it was not entrusted to Nourry or Juste, who were the printers of the Lyons editions of *Pantagruel* and *Gargantua*. M. Seymour de Ricci, who gives a facsimile reprint from the unique copy in the Munich library (*R.E.R.* VIII. 57-92), inclines to ascribe it to the press of Jacques Moderne de Pinguente, who published a number of literary pieces in French in the years 1529-56. This was published in 1532, and there is a copy of the *Cronicques* containing some additions dated 1533, bound up with the *Pantagruel* of 1533 and the *Pantagrueline Prognostication* of the same date, in the royal library at Dresden.

A point of considerable interest is to be found in the possible origin of the name "Gargantua" in a way indicated by an episode in the *Grandes Cronicques* (chap. 8). In this story Grand Gosier and Galemelle, the father and mother of Gargantua, are represented

each carrying a rock out into the sea from St Malo and setting them down at a distance ($1\frac{1}{2}$ miles) from each other. One of these rocks is St Michel and the other Tombelaine. The latter actually contains Druidic remains, while the word has been explained as *tombe d'Hélène* or *tumba Belenis*. It has occurred to me that the word may be derived from *τύμβος λαϊνος*, i.e. the rock that has been the tomb of many mariners.

In the *Legenda Aurea*, c. 145, and in the Breviary, *die VIII Maii, In apparitione S. Michaëlis Archangeli*, is given the legend of an appearance of St Michael. Some herdsmen on Mons Garganus in Apulia (mentioned in Horace, C. II. 9. 7), following a bull that had strayed, found him in the mouth of a cavern, and when one of them shot an arrow at him the arrow turned back and struck the bowman. In the *Legenda Aurea* the cavern is called *Tumba*, and some notion of a tomb seems to be involved. In consequence of this miracle and of an appearance of St Michael to Pope Gelasius in 493, the Bishop of Sipontum was commanded to build a sanctuary in honour of St Michael on Mons Garganus, afterwards called Monte St Angelo. Similarly about the year 710 in consequence of a vision of Saint Michael to Hubert, Bishop of Avranches, a sanctuary was built on the height called *Tumba* near the sea, about six miles from Avranches. St Michael's Church is built on a tremendous summit and is only accessible at ebb-tide. It was much visited by pilgrims who are called "Micheletz" or "Micquelots" in Rabelais¹. In the ninth and tenth centuries the relations between Mont St Michel and Monte Gargano were well main-

¹ G.C., P.P. 5, G. 38. v. 25.

tained. Courageous pilgrims in their itinerary of Italy and the Gauls almost always included Rome, Monte Gargano, St Martin of Tours and Mont St Michel.

On Cape Malea (C. Matapan), the most southerly point of the Peloponnese, except Taenarum, was formerly placed a statue of Apollo, and subsequently a church was dedicated in honour of the specially Greek Saint Michael, whose aid was invoked by mariners in the dangerous strait between C. Malea and the island Cythera (*Cerigo*).

The militant figure of St Michael with his uplifted sword trampling the dragon underfoot appealed strongly to the imagination of the chivalrous Normans, and this saint was adopted by them for their special cult from their first initiation to Christianity, to take the place of the ancient warrior gods whom they gave up on being converted and baptized. St Michael's Mount in Cornwall is another instance of a Norman church dedicated on a height to this Saint.

Mont St Michel in Normandy was formerly called Mont Gargan, a name probably derived from Monte Gargano in Apulia, on which the former St Michael's Church had been built. The same appellation was bestowed on various mountain heights in Normandy and Brittany. From the sixth century it got the name of *Mont Tombe*; in the eighth it was called after St Michael, to whom were almost always dedicated churches on the summit of hills and by the sea-coasts, so as to serve for beacons. Hence he obtains the title of St Michel *au péril de mer* and St Michel d'Aure (iv. 19) and perhaps St Adauras (*P.* 17). It seems therefore a tenable proposition that the beneficent

French giant Gargantua, traces of whom may be found in all parts of France from Brittany to Provence, may have derived his name from Mons Garganus in Apulia.

Besides *Les Grandes Croniques* Rabelais published about this time (1532-3) a *Pantagrueline Prognostication* consisting of a prologue and six (afterwards ten) chapters. This was adapted freely from two similar ones in Latin in the appendix to the *Facetiae* of Heinrich Bebel and a Prognostication of Heinrichman of Sindelfingen. It is a burlesque on the numerous Prognostications, which were eagerly read and perhaps believed in at this time. They were of the same kind as Old Moore's Almanack and *The Limping Messenger* (*Der hinkende Bote*), both of which are still current after more than a century's existence. In this we find Rabelais running riot in his copious vocabulary as he does later in the "litanies" lists of arms, viands, fish, serpents, etc.

Rabelais also brought out at this time an Almanack for 1533. We are fortunate in having the preface to this as well as that to his Almanack for 1535 still extant. They shew his real attitude towards the quack prophetic publications, and exhibit him in the light of a genuine believer in the gracious providence of an inscrutable and beneficent Creator. He denounces in the strongest terms the attempts to pry into the designs of the Deity and insists on patient submission to his decrees. This attitude may be exemplified from other parts of his writings.

M. Lefranc has shewn the probable dates of these early publications: (1) *Les Grandes Croniques* August 3, 1532. (2) *Pantagruel* November 3, 1532. (3) *Pan-*

tagrueline Prognostication the Monday after Epiphany 1533. He bases his calculations on the dates of the book-fairs of Lyons, which had been fixed by Louis XII in July 1498 and confirmed by Francis I in February 1536 and April 1543¹.

Other Almanacks were published for the years 1541, 1546, 1548, 1550; we have only the title-pages preserved, but they are useful in helping to determine the dates of Rabelais' presence at Lyons or Paris at certain periods.

Rabelais probably met Clément Marot, the French poet, in Paris in 1528-30, but it does not seem likely that Marot was resident at Lyons in 1532 or except occasionally, for he preferred Paris and his books were printed there till Dolet (who came to Lyons in 1534) printed the completed edition of his poems in 1538. The *Adolescence Clementine*, containing Marot's earlier poems, was published in 1529 and 1532; from this Rabelais borrowed phrases. Besides Marot's own poems, his editions of *Le Roman de la Rose* (Galliot du Pré, Paris 1527) and of Villon's poems (1532) were employed in the *Pantagruel* and *Gargantua*, as was also an edition by Blanchet of *La Farce de Maistre Pierre Pathelin restitué à son naturel* (Galliot du Pré 1532). Rabelais also employed editions of Gringore, Coquillart and Le Maire de Belges.

¹ *R.E.R.* ix. 152.

PANTAGRUEL

It was towards the close of 1532 that Rabelais finished the *Pantagruel*, the first instalment of the romance that was to confer immortality on his name. The plan of the story is the same as that of the *Grandes Croniques* and the chivalric romances, viz.: the origin, birth, apparelling, youth, education of the giant prince, and later a tremendous battle between Pantagruel and Loupgarou with his three hundred giants; all imitated from and following the lines of the romances; interposed between these accounts are various events of Pantagruel's life at Orléans and Paris (cc. 6-23), whither he had proceeded after visiting other French universities. This is a burlesque on Rabelais' own life, and it is in this that it differs from the *Croniques*, in being to a considerable extent autobiographical.

After the episode at Orléans of the Limousin scholar, who affected Latinized speech (c. 6), Pantagruel proceeds to Paris where he stays till c. 23. He was then recalled by the news of the death of his father Gargantua and the invasion of his country Utopia by the Dipsodes. In the meantime the chapters relating to his stay in Paris are instructive as to the life of the students there and of the studies at the University. In the seventh chapter is given a list of books in the library of St Victor, originally a burlesque on the goody-goody text-books on religious subjects, interspersed with a few book-titles containing reflexions on some prominent members of the University and

others. In the two latest editions authorized by Rabelais a list of books is inserted quite as long as the original catalogue, bearing in several instances on the quarrel of the Cologne doctors with the great Hebraist Reuchlin, which is the special subject of the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* (1517), as well as on some points of the Lutheran revolt.

The eighth chapter is very important as giving a scheme of education in a letter from Gargantua to his son Pantagruel, reprobating the previous neglect of learning in the times of the Goths (i.e. the Schoolmen) and full of enthusiasm for the restoration of letters by the Humanists of the Renaissance. This is followed by a list of studies to be recommended, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*, Civil Law, Natural Science and the Greek, Latin and Arabic physicians, as well as the Old Testament in Hebrew and the New Testament in Greek. This is a list that might have been inspired by Budaeus himself, whom Rabelais closely followed in the ardour with which he prosecuted Greek and Latin reading. These studies are intended as a contrast to the books of instruction in the library of St Victor.

The next chapter (the ninth) furnishes an episode full of importance for the rest of the romance—the introduction of Panurge to Pantagruel. As Panurge is almost the hero of the *Third, Fourth and Fifth Books*, it may be well here to give some account of his characteristics and Rabelais' manner of dealing with them. He is derived from the *Cingar* of Merlin Cocai, the pseudonym of Hieronimo (in the cloister Teofilo) Folengo (1492–1544) who was at one time a Dominican,

but who unfrocked himself and led a roving life. If not the originator, he was one of the earliest writers of macaronic verse, that is, a mixture of Latin hexameters and burlesque Italian. His poem *Baldus* is written in twenty-five books, the three last of which are a fantastic description of the lower world. This poem is employed considerably in the account of the tricks of Panurge in *P.* 14-17 and IV. 5-8, 18-24, and the author is mentioned three times (*P.* I, 7 and III 11). Panurge's prototype *Cingar* is himself formed to some extent on the *Margutte* of Pulci's *Morgante Maggiore* (Venice, 1488), as Folengo points out. There is a portrait of the author in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence.

But it is not only *Cingar* (or Panurge) who is borrowed from Merlin Cocai; a representative of Pantagruel may be found in *Baldus*, the hero of the poem. And although Pantagruel takes the place of *Baldus*, his actual name and attributes (especially that of causing thirst) are derived from the *Mystère des Actes des Apostres* of Simon Greban, in which *Panthagruel* is a small devil who represents water, or rather sea-water, as distinguished from the others, who represent air, fire and earth (*R.E.R.* x..482).

Again Carpalim, the swift runner (perhaps a Basque lackey of Rabelais' acquaintance who furnished him with the Basque speech in this chapter), is derived from Falchettus, and Eusthenes, the strong man, from Fracassus in Folengo's poem; he is also put down in *P.* I as one of the giant progenitors of Pantagruel. Thus, four of the five standing characters in the *Pantagruel* represent to a great extent persons in the *Baldus* of Folengo.

The fifth, a most important personage, Epistemon, the tutor of Pantagruel, was most likely a fellow-student of Rabelais at Montpellier, as was also Ponocrates, the tutor of Gargantua (cf. III. 34). The two are differentiated in Rabelais in the first being described as weakly, and Ponocrates as sturdy and able. Some day perhaps they may be identified on the Montpellier registers. Epistemon is also represented as present at the death of Guillaume du Bellay (IV. 27). Thus we may see how Rabelais combines his reading and his personal experiences in the composition of his story. A curious slip is made in the last edition (D). In c. 9 Eudemon is introduced as making a comment on Panurge's Basque speech. Eudemon is the accomplished page introduced in c. 15 of the *Gargantua* by Don Philippe des Marays (who proves to be Don Philippe of Castile, father of Charles V), and thus Eudemon may be intended as the youthful emperor, to whom was dedicated Erasmus's treatise *Institutio Principis Christiani* in 1516. At all events he ought not to appear in the *Pantagruel*, as being a Gargantuine character.

Cingar (akin to the Spanish *Zingari* and the German *Zigeuner*), the wanderer or vagabond, is adapted from Folengo's crude robber of hen-roosts and player of heartless pranks—of which a number are instanced in the early part of *Pantagruel*—and is skilfully developed into a courtier with the self-same moral proclivities, kept in due restraint by his new surroundings. His Greek name Panurge is taken from a speech of Cicero (*Panurgus, Roscii servus*) through Budaeus (*de Asse*, lib. II. p. 239), and the word in its full, unamiable meaning is richly deserved. Thus we find that the

Grecised names attached to the several personages sufficiently indicate their character.

The construction of the chapter in its component parts deserves consideration. At the beginning Pantagruel sees through the woe-begone appearance of Panurge traces of a man of mark and ability. This is from the *Odyssey*, bk VII. as given in Erasmus, *Ad.* III. 10. 51. Pasquier (*Recherches de la France*, VIII. 59) is probably right in attributing the polyglot speeches of Panurge to the suggestion from the speeches in different *patois* uttered by Patelin of the Farce in his pretended delirium, while the general plan and bearing of the chapter are modelled on the visit of Ulysses to the Phaeacians in *Od.* VII. 203 sqq. and the actual speech of Panurge at the end is that of Ulysses, *Od.* VII. 216-21 and XIV. 193-8.

The claim of Panurge to be one of the thirty-two French prisoners who were taken by the Turks at the siege of Mitylene in 1502 is very fantastic, but is used as the substructure of the fourteenth chapter, where Panurge records a fanciful account of his escape.

Panurge, Carpalim and Eusthenes all make their first appearance in c. 9, Epistemon in c. 5. This name is perhaps derived from the *Panepistemon* of Politian, the great Florentine scholar.

The tenth chapter is devoted to an account of a controversy between two great Lords, which was too obscure for the Paris lawyers to unravel. They appeal for help to Pantagruel who had made a great name for himself by public disputations; this enables him to denounce the study and practice of law then existing, viz., a blind deference to the glosses of practitioners

that had grown round the *Corpus Juris*; these were followed more scrupulously than the text itself. In reality this is the attitude of Budaeus in his Annotations on the first twenty-four and the last four books (47-50) of Justinian's *Pandects*, while Budaeus is to some extent indebted to the work of Lorenzo Valla and Poliziano, who had made a study of the original *litera Pisana*, the copy of the Pandects now in the Medicean Library. But at the same time Rabelais pleads for a broader study of law on a philosophical basis of jurisprudence and inveighs against the narrowing practice of case-law in the spirit of Plato (*Theaet.* 172 D-173 B) and of Bishop Thirlwall, when explaining why he gave up forensic for ecclesiastical studies (*Letters*, p. 63), and of Sir H. Maine in advocating the study of Roman Law in "Cambridge Essays," 1856.

The eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth chapters give the unintelligible pleadings of the plaintiff and defendant and the equally unintelligible judgement of Pantagruel. Two or three historical allusions scattered up and down may be intended to mislead, but hardly to enlighten the reader.

The fourteenth chapter describes Panurge's escape from the Turks in a very burlesque fashion, the fifteenth an absurd and undesirable theory for building the walls of Paris, the sixteenth and seventeenth all kinds of mischievous student tricks of which he was guilty; they are derived for the most part from Merlin Cocai. The eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth chapters introduce us to Sir Thomas More under the name of Thaumast, arguing with Panurge (who takes Pantagruel's place) *by signs*, without speaking. In

this book Rabelais is indebted to More's *Utopia*, of which an early edition had been published in Paris by Gilles de Gourmont 1517-18. *Utopia* is placed near Cathay in Upper India, or China, and twice it is made the goal of a Pantagrueline voyage; the first time in this book, by following the route of the Portuguese round the Cape of Good Hope to India by Ceylon, and secondly in the *Fourth Book* by the North-West passage above Canada, which was not achieved till 1857-9 by McClintock. It is interesting to note that Pantagruel (i.e. Rabelais) lodged at the Hôtel St Denis (cf. p. 18) and Thaumast at the Hôtel de Cluny. (In G. 39 Brother John declares that he kept open house in Paris more than six months, which seems to point in the same direction.) At the same time the Hôtel de Cluny was the residence of distinguished Englishmen who might be staying in Paris, while the contiguous *Palais des Thermes* was occupied by taverns frequented by students, especially by *les maistres de la nation d'Angleterre*.

The significance of signs and symbols seems greatly to have taken Rabelais' fancy. He recurs to it in III. 19, where he praises the counsel of the dumb, and in IV. 37, where he instances the omens and significance of names, a science which he calls Onomatomaney (III. 25). In the present chapter and in III. 19, where the dumb Goatsnose gives his advice by gesticulation, the intention may have been to ridicule the minute directions given by Quintilian (XI. 3. 92 sqq.) to the orator concerning the use of fingers and arms in rhetorical argument; but from this Rabelais proceeds to argue as to the imposition of names, whether it is

by nature or arbitrarily. He probably derives his ideas from Plato's *Cratylus*, to which he refers in iv. 37, but he may also have had in view the question of the imposition of names by Adam in *Genesis* ii. 19 which was much debated by the schoolmen and is referred to by Cornelius Agrippa *de occulta philosophia* i. 70. Hippocrates also, *de arte medendi* § 2, puts it that forms are natural, but that words are made by custom.

Again this dispute is intended as a caricature of keeping an act in the Paris University. "The process," says Mr Tilley, "is hardly more absurd, the result not a whit more barren, than many of the disputations which took place in the Paris schools" (*François Rabelais*, p. 108). In reference to a disputation he had at Oxford in 1554 Bishop Ridley said: "That when he studied at Paris he remembered what clamours were used in the Sorbon, where Popery chiefly reigned: but that was quite a modesty in comparison with this present thrasonical ostentation. Whence he concluded very truly that they sought not for the sincere truth in the conference, and for nothing but vain-glory" (Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer* III. p. 115).

After a disgraceful adventure of Panurge (cc. 21, 22) Pantagruel gets news of his father's translation by the fairies (i.e. his death) and learns that the Dipsodes have invaded his territory of Utopia. He at once starts for Rouen and from there to Honfleur, whence he and his four companions set sail. And now we have an indication of the interest Rabelais found in geography. In the twenty-third preliminary chapter we find an allusion to Canaria, which had been discovered for France and partly annexed by Jean de Béthencourt.

It is mentioned also *P.* 11, 24, *G.* 13. 31. 50, though in one or two instances with the purpose of disguising some other place. But Rabelais had also read about the Canary Islands in Pliny (6. 203) and was concerned about geography, historically as well as patriotically. It was his wont to keep before him two or even three points of view and he delighted in finding modern parallels with classical instances.

But now he conducts his hero to Utopia from Honfleur, following the route of the Portuguese round the Cape. In his itinerary he simply copies a passage from the preface of Simon Grynaeus to a book of travels of various explorers collected by Jo. Hervagius (Basel 1532). There was also a map or cosmography by Seb. Münster made for his edition of Ptolemy in 1545. The list of explorers in this volume coincides to a great extent with one given in v. 31 (MS.), thus affording a slight confirmation of the belief in the authenticity of the *Fifth Book*.

After rounding the Cape they come to Melinda, which had been reached by Vasco da Gama in 1498. He passed over from there to Calicut in India, whereas Pantagruel passes by Meden, Uti, Uden, Gelasim, the Isles of the Fairies and the Kingdom of Achoria, to Utopia. It is a question whether these are merely fanciful names derived from the Greek *μηδέν, οὐδέν*, etc., or whether, as M. Lefranc suggests, Meden and Uden are intended for Medina and Aden, while Gelasim stands for Ceylon. Shortly after they had arrived in the harbour of Utopia they were approached by 660 knights in hostile fashion, but these were all discomfited and burnt up by a scheme of the ever-ready Panurge.

The travellers set up a burlesque trophy; when the one prisoner whom they had taken alive informs them that Anarchus, king of the Dipsodes, accompanied by Loupgarou and three hundred giants and an immense army, is coming to attack them. Pantagruel sends the knight to his master to inform him that he has a tremendous force at sea, and also to take him a box full of condiments to make him drink. This was successful, and the king and his whole camp drank so furiously that they were soon all fast asleep. Carpalim (*The Swift one*), one of Pantagruel's attendants, stole into their camp by night and fired it; in the end the foes are all slain. The next chapter (twenty-nine) is devoted to a combat between Pantagruel and the giant Loupgarou in the style of the chivalric romances. The prayer of the weaker combatant, his dexterity in avoiding the crushing blows of his huge adversary and his ultimate victory are successfully imitated and told with great spirit. The next chapter (thirty) is perhaps the most important of all; it narrates the resuscitation of Epistemon, whose head had been struck off in the struggle, his return to life and the account he gives of the other world. The original of this is of course the *νεκρῶτα*, the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*, but there is also an imitation of the similar case of Er the Armenian in the tenth book of Plato's *Republic*, who comes to life after twelve days. In the account of the inversion of lives in the other world where kings are beggars and the rich are poor, Rabelais employs Lucian's *Menippus* with good effect. But I think he also has in mind an incident which happened in Paris in September 1528, soon after his arrival. It is recorded in the *Journal d'un*

Bourgeois de Paris. A young man had been hanged at the Place Maubert and after half-an-hour was taken away, but as he shewed some signs of life he was set down before a statue of the Virgin in the Carmelite Church and subsequently placed in a room before a fire, bled and physicked. Afterwards his throat and neck were rubbed and anointed with oil, and he remained without speaking or drinking till the next day; at last he drank and ate a little, and ultimately recovered and remembered everything. A similar story is also to be found in the *Morte d'Arthur*, vii. 22. The names of persons whom Epistemon saw in the other world are derived from Herodotus, Plutarch, the chivalric romances and Homer. There are also half-a-dozen popes. The usurers, against whom Rabelais shews special rancour, are assigned a pitiful life. Anarchus, king of the Dipsodes, is given over by Pantagruel to Panurge, who makes him a crier of green sauce. The thirty-second chapter is derived mostly from Lucian's *Vera Historia* and describes how Rabelais himself entered into Pantagruel's mouth and saw wonderful sights. In the next chapter Pantagruel is ill and cured by sixteen enormous pills containing pioneers who emerge from the pills, clear away obstructions and restore him to health. The last chapter ends with a violent tirade against the Mendicants, and also the promise of a voyage of Pantagruel, which is carried out in the *Fourth* and *Fifth Books*.

The sources of the *Pantagruel*, heterogeneous as they are, have a great bearing and throw much light on the author's methods. He says very justly (G. 45) that the good workman puts all pieces of timber to

use. To a certain extent his books are a record of his reading, and, as with Lucilius in Horace (S. II. I. 30), his "faithful books" reflect his life and occupation at the time. In the composition of the first chapter of *Pantagruel* the genealogy is founded first on that in St Matthew and St Luke and also on the *Généalogies des Roys de France*, composed by his friend Jean Bouchet (Pictavii 1531). These contained the list of fifty-seven kings from Pharamond to Louis XII. Rabelais gives fifty-nine giants, making the two last to be Gargantua and Pantagruel, thus for a long time inducing the belief that these two represented Francis I and Henry II throughout, and causing numberless "keys" to all the characters to be prepared and advocated by their authors. The list of giants is formed first by some distorted biblical Hebrew names, perhaps changed from the names of some of the early French kings. These are followed by a string of names from Classical sources; they prove to have been taken bodily from a strange book, the *Officina* of Ravisius Textor, a sort of dictionary of antiquities, containing lists of gods, heroes, giants, dwarfs, serpents, etc., etc., followed by explanations as to who and what they were. After this come a number of giants from various chivalric romances, and other names, perhaps fanciful and invented by Rabelais himself. Grandgousier occupies the place that would be that of Louis XII in Bouchet's list, and Gargantua and Pantagruel close the list of fifty-nine.

The list in the thirtieth chapter contains also a number of names from chivalry, and it may be useful here to append a list of such books and the places where

Rabelais inserts them, as an indication of his reading at this time:

Pantagruel c. 1.

Fierabras	Lyon, B. Chaussard, 1496.
Ferragus	in Turpini <i>Chronicon</i> c. 17.
Galehaut	in Lancelot du Lac.
Galaffre	in Huon de Bordeaux c. 9.
Roboastre	in Guerin de Montglave.
Sortibrant	killed by Regnier in Fierabras c. 39.
Bruyer	in Ogier le Dannois c. 16.
Mabrian	in Les IV filz Aymon.

Pantagruel c. 30.

Lancelot du Lac	Paris, Phil. le Noir, 1533.
Charlemagne et les douze pairs de France	Lyon, B. Chaussard, 1561.
Valentin et Orson	Lyon, J. Arnouillet, 1495.
Giglain and Gawaine	Ariosto <i>Or. Fur.</i> xix. 38.
Geoffroi à la grant dent	Lyon, O. Arnouillet, 1525.
Godefroi de Bouillon	Paris, Jean Petit, 1504.
Morgante Maggiore	Venetiis, 1488.
Huon de Bordeaux	Lyon, O. Arnouillet, 1516?.
Jean de Paris	? Lyon, Pierre Sale.
Artus de Bretagne	Lyon, 1496.
Perceforest	Paris, Galliot du Pré, 1528.
Ogier le Dannois	Lyon, Cl. Nourry, 1525.
Galien réthoré	Lyon, Cl. Nourry, 1525.
IV filz Aymon	Lyon, J. de Vingle, 1495.
Melusine	Lyon, Ortuin et Schenck, 1500.
Matabrune	in Godefroi de Bouillon.

After the publication of the *Pantagruel* at the end of 1532 Rabelais continued his practice at the Hospital and his labours of correcting the press for Gryphius. It appears pretty certain that besides making alterations in the *Pantagruel*, which appeared again under his direction in 1535, 1537 and 1542, he was writing his *Gargantua* in 1533, though the date of the first edition

is somewhat uncertain. The first edition (A), of which only one copy survives, in the *Bibliothèque nationale*, was published before 1535, but unfortunately the first leaf containing the title-page is lost and it can only be put down as of the date of 1534 by conjecture. Rabelais accompanied Bishop du Bellay to Rome January–March 1534; thus it is possible that he had finished his *Gargantua* and that he published it that year. Juste published a second edition (B) in 1535 and another (C) in 1537, while he published the definitive edition both of *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel* (D) in 1542.

M. Lefranc has made it very probable (*R.E.R.* x. 151) that Rabelais was inspired to compose his *Gargantua* by a visit to his native Touraine in September 1532 (cf. *Pant.* prol.) and by the lawsuit between his father and Gaucher Sainte-Marthe, and that he finished it in 1533, but that it did not appear till October 1534, before the affair of “the Placards,” when heretical Protestant placards were introduced into the Palace and even into the King’s private apartments. This led to furious reprisals and persecutions. It is possible that the *Gargantua* was published in August 1534 before the affair of “the Placards.” This would make the publication of such a book extremely dangerous.

M. Bourrilly has also pointed out in the Introduction to his edition of the Letters of Rabelais from Rome (p. 8) that the amusing episode of the kitchen-loving Monk in Florence (iv. 11) must have taken place on the return of Bishop du Bellay from his *first* mission to Rome (January–March 1534) when he and his suite were travelling in a leisurely fashion. This has hitherto been accepted as occurring during their *second* journey

to Rome in August 1535, or on their return in 1536. The reason for this belief is that Rabelais in the first edition of the *Fourth Book* (A 1548) says that the episode took place "about 12 years ago" and in the second edition (B 1552) "about 20 years ago"—neither of the dates being quite exact. Du Bellay left Rome on April 1, 1534, and did not reach Paris till May 18, thus allowing plenty of time for a stay in Florence, whereas in 1535 every step of their journey to Rome is accounted for; they came by Ferrara straight through the Romagna, while Florence, then under the domination of Duke Alexander de' Medici, the destined son-in-law of Charles V, was hardly a place to receive the French envoy. In his hurried return, when the Emperor was expected in Rome, the Cardinal left on February 29, 1536, and his retinue on April 11, when the Pope signed a safe-conduct for them. The Emperor was daily expected in Rome, and after his violent speech in the Consistory his attack on Provence was looked for. It actually was begun in July.

GARGANTUA AND AFTER

The *Gargantua* is on the same lines as the *Pantagruel*, but longer and more elaborate in its details. There is the birth, childhood and apparelling of the giant prince, his education under the old and the new systems, his journey to Paris on the Great Mare and the episode of the bells of *Notre-Dame*. Several points of the feeding and apparelling, the great mare that carried

him to Paris and the removal of the bells, are derived from the *Grandes Croniques*. Instead of the account of the law-courts and keeping acts at the University we have the elaboration of the educational system. But while Gargantua is busy studying at Paris a war has been raised between the cake-bakers of Lerné and the shepherds of Grandgousier, Gargantua's father, and he is recalled to conduct his father's army. (This has been shewn in *R.E.R.* III. 241-52 to be an allegorical account of the law-suit between Rabelais' father and Scévole de Sainte-Marthe on the rights of navigation and fishing on the river Vienne.) An elaborate account of the war and its episodes occupies chapters 24-51, while the remainder of the book is devoted to the foundation, endowment and regulations of the Abbey of Thelema.

The Prologue is specially important as putting forward the claim of the author to an inner meaning intended by his drolleries, more than is apparent in a cursory perusal; he therefore requests his readers to examine his writings carefully, like the philosophical dog which breaks a bone to get the marrow; and he declares that thus will be revealed "high Mysteries as much in that which concerns our Religion as also the public Polity and private Life." This declaration is very similar to one made by Galen (*de usu partium*, VII. 14) where he claims the discovery of many points of anatomy, and begs not less attention to his exposition than is given by persons on initiation to the Eleusinian or Samothracian mysteries.

At the very outset Rabelais takes three whole paragraphs from the *Adagia* of Erasmus, thus inaugurating

a system of compiling his book from various sources. It is possible that he intended the early chapters of his *Third Book* to some extent as an apology for this style of writing. Certainly Erasmus is laid under contribution much more in the *Gargantua* than in the *Pantagruel*.

The extracts—often lines or merely tags—which Rabelais borrows from various authors, especially the French poets of that time, are often deftly interwoven in the narrative and descriptive passages, so as almost to defy detection. But in this we should remember that he is only following the example of the humanist writers, Budaeus and Erasmus, who were so steeped in the writings of Cicero, Virgil, Terence and other classical authors that their letters and essays are almost made up of phrases and expressions adapted from the older writers to suit the matter which they were expressing. This was carried to excess by the *Ciceroniani*. Rabelais, as he was entitled to do, goes beyond this and adapts short sentences and passages not only from the classical authors, but from the humanists themselves, as well as from the French poets, Gringore, Le Maire, Cretin, Coquillart, Clément Marot, Saint-Gelais, La farce de Patelin, Villon, and even from the broad-sheets and fugitive pieces that were hawked about by pedlars. If in addition to these we examine attentively the *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, 1513-36, comprising the greater part of the reign of Francis I, we are enabled to form a tolerable idea of the world in which Rabelais lived.

It appears to have been especially delightful to him to take a book of a contemporary and play with it, as

it were, for a chapter, or sometimes for two or three chapters, constructing an episode out of a single book: thus, Geoffroy Tory's book serves for the display of the vagaries of the Limousin scholar in the *Pantagruel*, Cornelius Agrippa's *de occulta philosophia*, aided by Pliny and other sources, furnishes the bulk of the chapter on Her Trippa (III. 25) and the principal contributions on divination proper. In *Pantagruel*'s journey by the N.W. passage the *Odyssey* and Lucian's *Vera Historia* are never lost sight of, while the fantastic voyage is used to satirize various points in European and papal history and surroundings. These examples are taken almost at random, but it may be seen throughout that it is Rabelais' settled principle.

In the *Gargantua* especially to be noticed is the change of place from that of the *Pantagruel*. In the latter the scene is laid in Poitiers, which is made the head-quarters of *Pantagruel*'s excursion to the country round about, and from which he starts for his visits to the Universities of France, finally settling in Paris to prosecute his medical studies. There we have an account of his student-life till he starts on his interesting geographical tour round the Cape of Good Hope to Utopia, or Cathay. Then come the war-like adventures following the lines of the chivalric romances; and the promise of further adventurous voyages, to be ultimately realized in the *Fourth* and *Fifth Books*.

In *Gargantua* the venue is changed. The action of the piece is laid in Touraine, or rather Chinonais, with La Devinière (the birthplace of Rabelais) as the centre. The whole country-side is made the scene of the tremendous campaign carried on in this book between

Gargantua and Picrochole. This episode and indeed the whole construction of Rabelais' romance has been made of greatly increased interest by the recent investigations of MM. Lefranc and Clouzot in the *R.E.R.* vol. III. These scholars have turned into historical certainty the assertions of MM. de Sainte-Marthe in the seventeenth century, viz., that Grandgousier represents Rabelais' own father and that Picrochole is intended for Gaucher, or Scévole, Sainte-Marthe, their great-grandfather, physician to the Abbess of Fontevrault. MM. de Sainte-Marthe had published an edition of three letters which Rabelais had sent from Rome to the Bishop of Maillezais in 1535-6. This edition was published in Paris in 1651 and again in Brussels, 1710. In the *Menagiana* (vol. II. p. 226) Ménage (1613-92) asserts that their great uncle Jacques de Sainte-Marthe was the original of Picrochole. A note insists that it could not have been Jacques, who was essentially a man of peace, but that it was probably his father Gaucher, who was choleric and a physician. Picrochole gets the addition *tiers de ce nom* because he succeeded his father and grandfather as physician to the Abbesses of Fontevrault.

Moreover there survive, in the Collection Dupuy in the *Bibliothèque nationale* at Paris some curious notes on the subject of Rabelais' characters in the *Gargantua*, which have considerable bearing on this subject. They are by a certain Sieur de Bouchereau, who was certainly of Touraine, and possibly a magistrate of Loudun or Chinon. These notes have been transcribed carefully by M. H. Clouzot and are given in *R.E.R.* III. 405 sqq. They confirm to a great extent the assertion of

MM. de Sainte-Marthe, and add identifications of several of the characters in *Gargantua* with persons living in the neighbourhood of Chinon. According to Bouchereau there was a law-suit between Picrochole, or Gaucher Sainte-Marthe, and the monks of Seuillé, and Frère Jean des Entommeures was their *procureur*. This in Rabelais' hands becomes the defence of the Abbey-close. Marquelt (c. 25) was father-in-law of Gaucher, and Gallet an inhabitant of Lerné. Other identifications less important and less exact are given. This is set forth by Marty-Laveaux in his edition of Rabelais (1881), vol. iv. p. 122. This editor records them tentatively and does not insist strongly on the correspondences, but the investigations of MM. Lefranc and Clouzot have confirmed these views so much that the explanation may be looked upon as certain. The former "keys" of Rabelais, although full of discrepancies, had gained so strong a hold that they could be displaced only by the proof afforded by the patient and careful examination of local archives and registers.

This has been done by the researches of these scholars, and we now know that Rabelais' work is throughout autobiographical and that the military preparations and achievements, which shew our author in the light of a well-read military tactician, are derived by him from ancient writers, such as Herodotus and others, as well as from observation of more recent campaigns. This feature is well brought out in a paper by M. Gigon in *R.E.R.* v. 3-23 (*L'Art militaire dans Rabelais*). But it is made more interesting by the review of this subject in the light of recent investigations. We learn from the diligent enquiries of

MM. Lefranc and Clouzot that the father of our satirist, Antoine Rabelais, *licencié ès lois, avocat au siège de Chinon*, was Seigneur of Chavigny-en-Vallée and thus lord of a whole number of lands and rights (especially fishing rights) on the right bank of the Loire to within ten kilometres of Saumur, and also within the same distance of Le Chapeau, which was on the same bank, separated from Chavigny only by the village Villebernier. Thus the Rabelais estate was contiguous with that of Gaucher Ste-Marthe, lord of Le Chapeau, just as their estate of La Devinière adjoined that of Ste-Marthe at Lerné. Antoine Rabelais possessed fishing rights on the Loire contiguous with those of Ste-Marthe, and these were damaged by the unlawful encroachments of the physician of Fontevrault. He had constructed a mill and made enclosure by piles and dams and otherwise, to the prejudice of the riparian owners higher up the Loire and the Vienne, which rivers are united at Candé about nine miles above Saumur. This came before the *Parlement* in 1529 and there were constantly orders in council made on the subject. There was a respite till September 7, 1532, when matters were more vigorously prosecuted and various influences were brought to bear, till ultimately at the end of 1536 Ste-Marthe had to give way to superior rights.

Then the agent who conducted these negotiations is Jehan Gallet of Chinon, *avocat du roi*, a near relative of Antoine Rabelais; in the *Gargantua* Ulrich Gallet is *maistre des requestes* of Grandgousier, "a wise and discreet man, whose worth and good counsel he had proved in difficult and contentious affairs," and he is the envoy to Picrochole.

Antoine Rabelais in 1506 had become possessor, through his mother, Andrée Pavin, of the "chastel et noble maison" of Chavigny, in the parish of Varennes [sur Loire] with all its appurtenances, . . . meadows, woods, waters and *fisheries*, etc. Thus we see how he became the champion of the rights of the smaller riparian owners and we learn in G. 47 how a great number of adjacent places, on account of their "ancient confederation," offered him help in every way possible in men, money and other munitions of war. In examining the names of the thirty-one places named here it is found that nine are on or near the Loire and the others on or near the Vienne; thus their interests were endangered by the unlawful usurpations of Sainte-Marthe.

The allegorical representation of these acrimonious disputes under the guise of a war stirred up by the cake-bakers of Lerné (Picrochole's men) and the shepherds of Grandgousier is very entertaining. The first apparent object of this is to shew the frivolous causes which may be the origin of cruel and devastating wars, and the foolish ambitions that may promote them. Rabelais draws on his reading in Greek, Latin and later writers to illustrate this, and evidently wishes to enforce the moral insisted on by Erasmus, that a prince should never enter upon war until it is absolutely necessary, but when once he has been forced to take it up he should prosecute it with all his vigour and thus bring it to a close as quickly as possible. Unless it had been made clear by documentary evidence it would hardly be believed that it is a prolonged law-suit that is the basis of this campaign, narrated with circum-

stantial minuteness and enlivened by anecdotes of several actions in the field.

It has been pointed out, however, by M. Lefranc that in September 1532 Rabelais had come from Lyons to visit his "cow-country," i.e. his native place, "to see if any of his kindred were still living," that he had his *Pantagruel* nearly completed, and that the finishing touches and the Prologue were written then. While he was in Chinonais (September–October 1532) the law-suit between his father and Sainte-Marthe was proceeding vigorously and the strife culminated in a brawl between certain cake-bakers of the village of Lerné, where was some of Sainte-Marthe's property, and the peasants of Senillé, where lay the contiguous property of Antoine Rabelais. This was the inspiration which impelled him to compose the *Gargantua*. The *Pantagruel* was published on his return to Lyons at the time of the next book-fair, November 3, 1532, and his hospital practice, his journey to Rome in 1534 and the publication of Marliani's *Topographia Romae* occupied his time, so that his *Gargantua* was not ready for publication till the middle of 1534. It must have been published either just before the affair of "the Placards," or if afterwards, only then because it could not be withdrawn.

Another important point in this book which has come into prominence within the last twenty years is the influence in the *Gargantua* and in the *Fifth Book*—and almost only in these two books—of that strange compilation, the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, or "the Strife of Love in a Dream." It is the work of a Dominican, Francesco Colonna, who was widely read

and a skilful architect, like many of his order, among them the celebrated Fra Giocondo. The book was composed about 1460 and published by Aldus Manutius in 1499, and again by the same house in 1546. It has become known among bibliophiles mostly on account of some illustrations in line-engraving, which have been attributed by connoisseurs to various distinguished artists. The text is an extravagant jumble in thirty-eight chapters, the first letters of which many years afterwards revealed the name of the writer in the sentence: POLIAM FRATER FRANCISCUS COLUMNA PERAMAVIT. The hero Poliphilus is taken through many strange scenes, a wood infested by savage beasts, through the stomach of a giant in which all the organs etc. are labelled, a desert in which are pyramids and obelisks, the palaces of two queens, with every kind of detail discussed, a fountain and a temple, etc., etc. The architect's fancy runs riot in all these details and a most fantastically tedious book is the result. It is written in Lombardese Italian plentifully interspersed with words formed from Latin and Greek.

Rabelais seems to have had a fancy for weird books. In the *Pantagruel* he had pressed into his service *Baldus*, the macaronic poem of Folengo—as strange a medley as ever was penned—and in the *Gargantua* we find the *Hypnerotomachia* supplying the basis of a good deal in the construction of his anti-monastery of Thelema, besides isolated passages in other chapters; attention should be paid particularly to the strange feats of Gymnast in the thirty-fifth chapter, which surely owe much to a passage in the Living Chess-game which is described in the *Fifth Book*. As I have not

seen this correspondence pointed out, it may be well to put it down here in the original setting, so much abridged in the Old English translation: "Per la quale cosa immediate se uide, una pugna, uno torniamento, tanto delectabile cum tanto praesto & subitanea uehementia cum inclinarse fina in terra, fasciendo poscia uno repente & torculario salto & quale Mymphurio tornatorio, cum due reuolutione nel aere, una opposita ad laltra. Et poi sencia mora posto il pede dextro ad terra tre fiate rotauase. Et poi subito laltro pede al contrario intorniaua, Tutta questa actione ad uno tempo consumauano, Tanto accomodamente & cum tanta agilitate che niente sopra, Cum le sue profonde inclinatione & composite uertigine & facile saltatione cum uenusti gesti quanto mai di tale & simigliante cosa se uedesse ne unque spectare potesse, ne mai tentata" (*Hyp.* c. 10 h. r^o). The apparelling of the ladies of Thelema seems to owe something to this book, as well as the caskets containing scents, and other small but curious matters. At the end of the *Fifth Book* whole chapters are bodily transferred or pieced together from various chapters of the *Hypnerotomachia*.

After the publication of the *Gargantua* 1534-5, we read of a meeting of the governors of the Hospital discussing Rabelais' supersession, on the ground "that he had twice absented himself from his duties without leave." The first case was probably to be attributed to his journey to Rome in January 1534 with du Bellay; the second is open to some doubt. In the discussion of the governors, one of them suggested that Rabelais is said to be at Grenoble, and proposed that they should wait for his return; at a later meeting he was actually

superseded in favour of Pierre du Castel who was appointed at a salary of 30 *livres* annually instead of the 40 *livres* received by Rabelais. It seems probable that Rabelais was in hiding on account of religious persecutions that were rife, and on account of his *Gargantua*. It has been plausibly suggested that he was at this time under the protection of the Bishop of Maillezais, before going to Rome in the company of Bishop du Bellay. This suggestion is supported by the three letters which he despatched to Bishop d'Estissac from Rome, and the record that two other similar ones had been sent previously; these are now lost. This points to an arrangement made with the bishop before the journey, which could hardly have been made otherwise than by personal communication.

Jean du Bellay was in Paris July 3, 1535, at Lyons July 15, invalided for a few days, at Carmagnola on the 18th. He declined an invitation of the Duke of Savoy for political reasons and hastened on to Ferrara (July 22) to make peace between Duke Hercules and his wife Renée de France, sister of Claude, the wife of Francis I (we hear of this in one of Rabelais' letters), and at the very end of July he is in Rome. He was admitted to a consistory on August 2 in company of Charles Hémart de Denonville, Bishop of Mâcon. The object of this mission was to gain over the new Pope Paul III to the interests of France, and to detach him as far as possible from Charles V, especially in view of the Emperor's approaching visit to Rome. In order to harass Charles on the Hungarian side Francis had been making overtures to Soliman, the Sultan, at Constantinople and thus had laid himself open to the

charge of trafficking with the Infidels. This had been rendered worse by the activity of the corsair Barbarossa on the Italian coasts. Again (and this was the principal matter) the conduct of the King of England in throwing off the papal supremacy had to be palliated in some way. The negotiations were most delicate and it cannot be doubted that du Bellay acquitted himself with great tact. Much of this is recorded in the confidential letters of Rabelais, but the influence of Charles, when he arrived (April 5) after the departure of du Bellay, proved too strong. The King of England was excommunicated and Charles prepared for his expedition into Provence.

At this time we learn from the third letter to d'Estissac that there was much talk of a Church Council. Paul III did not want it, but he was obliged to listen to suggestions. It was first convoked in Mantua in 1536 and again at Trent in 1542, but no resolutions were passed till 1547, and very little but adjournments were carried out till much later (1563).

Du Bellay left Rome February 29, 1536, secretly, but with the connivance, if not by the advice of the Pope. He left his suite to return later. A safe-conduct dated April 11 was granted by Paul, while the baggage was to go by sea. And here arises an interesting question, whether Rabelais did not accompany the baggage on a coasting voyage to Marseilles at this time and perhaps encounter a storm at sea, which enabled him to describe so graphically the celebrated storm of the *Fourth Book*. The reasons for this conjecture are that he mentions in iv. 25 Monte Argentaro and Piombino as very subject to storms;

the former bears an extraordinary likeness to the two-peaked rock described on the Isle of Ganabin (iv. 66). He also describes the grasping nature of the Genoese at the end of the Prologue to the *Fourth Book*. The large number of Italian nautical terms in the description of the storm in iv. 18 may thus be accounted for. Moreover in v. 34 the wine of Taggia, in the Genoese territory close to San Remo, is mentioned, and also the orange trees of San Remo itself. These identifications form a cumulative presumption that Rabelais had seen these places, and it is not easy to find a period in his life so suitable as this to give him the opportunity.

The Cardinal's personal object had been gained—that of receiving the red hat—but his diplomatic mission can hardly be characterized as successful. Rabelais had been quite successful in obtaining relief from his “apostasy” of quitting the clerical habit, and in gaining permission to practise medicine to the full extent that was allowed to an ecclesiastic, a permission couched in flattering terms.

On his return from Rome Cardinal du Bellay was at Lyons for some time, sending at once a full account of the Emperor's violent speech before the Pope (in Spanish) against the French king. Diplomacy and warlike preparations went on apace and on July 21, 1536, Jean du Bellay was appointed lieutenant-general in the government of Paris and l'Ile-de-France.

After his return to Lyons Rabelais soon came to Paris to resume his duties with the Cardinal; at this time he probably gained some knowledge in fortifications, etc., which he utilized afterwards in the Prologue

to his *Third Book*. June 7 hostilities began, and in July 1536 Charles V carried out his threat and the imperialist troops invaded Provence. The Constable Anne de Montmorency prudently retreated before them, devastating the country as he went. Probably the title of one of the books in the library of St Victor, P. 7 (added in D 1542), refers to this incident—*Entrée d'Anthoine de Leive ès terres du Brésil*. It is a parody of a romance-title such as *Entrée de Charlemagne en Espagne*, and refers to Brésil as "the burnt up land." A matter affecting Rabelais, begun in Rome in 1535-6, seems to belong to this time. There survives a petition of Rabelais to Paul III, asking for an indult to regularize his position as Canon of the Abbey of St Maurles-Fossés near Paris, to which Jean du Bellay, the Abbot, had appointed him as one of the Canons. The irregularity lay in this, that the Monastery had been secularized and the Monks made Canons of the Priory, but that Rabelais had been made a Canon before the bull that secularized the Monastery had been fulminated.

This petition was probably due to the appointment of Rabelais as a ninth canon in addition to the eight previously existing and the protest made by the canons in possession. No answer of the Pope is known to this "supplication," and, as Rabelais never gave himself the title of Canon of St Maur, we may fairly conclude that the appointment was never carried out. The date of the petition would therefore fall in 1536 rather than at any other time. Our author's residence at St Maur, of which he speaks in such eulogistic terms, especially as to its salubrity, should probably be fixed

in 1544-5, but at the château of du Bellay, which had been built for him by Philibert de l'Orme, the first among contemporary architects to attach importance to the situation of his buildings in the matter of the salubrity of aspect, etc. Consequently this château was placed on a hill of moderate elevation, and due regard was given to the laying of the foundations of a sufficient depth. It was probably at this "paradise of salubrity" that Rabelais wrote the great part of his *Third Book*, which he had begun at St Ayl near Orléans after the funeral of Guillaume du Bellay at Le Mans in March 1543.

After the failure of the Emperor's attack Rabelais remained in Paris till about April 1537. His presence is attested by a Latin poem of Etienne Dolet (*Doleti carmina*, 1538) descriptive of a banquet given in the printer's honour by his literary friends, while he was seeking a remission of a penalty for an involuntary homicide. Rabelais is spoken of as present¹, together with the best of the French literary world, Budaeus, Danès, Toussain and others.

He now proceeded to Montpellier, to obtain his licentiate and doctorate. In the transactions recorded in the *Registre des Matricules* 1502-61 is an entry: *A Licentiandis; Magistro Francisco Rabelesio libr. 4,*

¹ Franciscus Rabelaesus, honos et gloria certa
 Artis Paeoniae, qui vel de limine Ditis
 Extinctos revocare potest et reddere luci.
 Hos inter multus sermo tum nascitur, orae
 Externae quid docti habeant scriptoris; Erasmus,
 Melanchthon, Bembus, Sadoletus, Vida, Jacobus
 Sannazarus plena laudantur voce vicissim.

Doleti *Carmina*, p. 59.

vi. den. Although the fee was paid April 3, 1537, the licentiate was not conferred till somewhat later, and the Doctor's degree was taken on May 22 of the same year. A small question has been raised as to the fact that Rabelais in his *petitio pro apostasia* records that he has practised medicine and taken the degrees required for that purpose, while the Pope in his reply (dated January 17, 1536) credits him with the degrees of Bachelor, Licentiate and Doctor. Again in the second petition to the Pope touching his appointment to a canonry of St Maur-les-Fossés Rabelais claims that he has taken the degree of doctor. This document is of uncertain date and might perhaps be used to shew that Rabelais did not attempt to take up his position as Canon of St Maur till at least the middle of 1537. It is made very probable, however, that the title of Doctor of Medicine was sometimes assumed by competent persons before the degree had been conferred, while no importance is attached to the assumption of M.D. by Rabelais in the preface to his Almanacks of 1533 and 1535 (cf. *R.E.R.* II. 115, IV. 270).

It was about this time that he had a painful experience of being a suspect of the Roman church. He was in Lyons at the end of May, after taking his degrees at Montpellier, and had sent a letter to some Reformer in Rome (probably Gaucher, brother of the great Reformer Guillaume Farel) and the letter had been intercepted by Cardinal Tournon, one of the strictest and most uncompromising maintainers of the Roman tenets. Rabelais was put under strict surveillance, from which he was not released till the arrival of

Guillaume du Bellay coming from court (August 28)¹ (M. Bourrilly in *R.E.R.* iv. 105-14). This may well afford the substratum for the threadbare story of the *mauvais quart d'heure de Rabelais*:

Two years later he had a similar experience, which perhaps it will be better to mention here, especially as it is a somewhat obscure affair, and only recently cleared up by M. Bourrilly (*R.E.R.* iv. 115-26). Jean de Boysonne, a great friend of Rabelais (cf. III. 29), wrote from Chambéry to Guil. Bigot, a secretary of Jean du Bellay, a postscript to a letter dated December 12, 1540, in the following terms: "Coteraeus rem omnem mihi in Aula narravit de Fossano et Rabelaeso, et de litteris e Roma in Aulam perlatis, et est quod uterque reprehendi possit: hic quod de tam magnis, non habito delectu ad quos scribat et de quibus, scribat; ille quod amici litteras passim omnibus ostendat." M. Bourrilly shews clearly that Fossanus is intended for the Sieur de la Fosse, Barnabé de Voré, who was a relative of the du Bellay-Langeys. He had been employed by Guil. du Bellay on confidential political missions to Germany from 1532 to 1538, and from that time to 1540 he is lost to sight. From this it may be seen that he was a trusted envoy of the du Bellays, who were for treating

¹ The following extracts from a letter of Card. Tournon to the Chancelier du Bourg:

...Il est passé par cette ville ung frère de Farellus le plus grand mutin et le plus mauvais paillard qu'il est possible, lutherien et zvynglien jusques aux dents, et est de Gap en Dauphiné.... je vous envoie une lettre que Rabelezus escryvoyt à Rome, par où vous verrez de quelles nouvelles il advertissoit ung des plus maulvays paillards qui soit à Rome. Je luy ay faict commandement que il n'eust à bouger de ceste ville jusques à ce que j'en sceusse vostre voulenté.

the Reformers in Germany with moderation; on the other side the Chancellor Poyet and Cardinal de Tournon advocated most rigorous measures against them. Francis I being plied by both these influences, as usual vacillated. The influence of the du Bellays was waning. At this time Fossanus changed sides and went over to the Tournon party and helped them in a Machiavellian plot. He proposed to join an embassy despatched by Francis and conducted by Guil. de Fürstenberg to the German protestants, and to induce the French protestant refugees to return to France under promise of pardon, so that the Tournon party should get hold of them and persecute them. Cardinal du Bellay had been able to write to Bucer, October 28, warning them of their danger, but Rabelais, in ignorance of this *volte-face*, had written to Fossanus in full confidence on most important and intimate concerns. Fossanus had no scruples in shewing these revelations to his new allies, and he thus rendered Rabelais open to censure for incautious dealings with traitors.

To resume our biography from May 1537. The letter of the Cardinal de Tournon was dated August 10, 1537, so that Rabelais must have gone to Lyons soon after his doctorate. He was probably busy correcting the press for Gryphius. Among other books an edition of Politian's writings in three volumes was published by this press in 1537-9 so that Rabelais may have made near acquaintance at this time with this Italian writer, whom he alludes to in his *Gargantua* and from whom he undoubtedly borrows in the *Third* and *Fourth Books*.

After this he returned to Montpellier to deliver his

lectures for the *grand ordinaire*, which commenced on St Luke's Day (October 18). The *Liber Lectionum* contains the following entry, dated September 27, 1537:

Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo septimo, facta fuit congregatio per fidem 27^a septembris, in qua comparuerunt....

Custodes clavium, D. Cancellarius, D. Johannes Falco, decanus, D. primus procurator, et D. junior doctor *Franciscus Rabelaesus*.

D. Franciscus Rabelaesus, pro suo ordinario, elegit librum Prognosticorum Hippocratis, quem graece interpretatus est (cf. *R.E.R.* III. 309-10).

The parts of this notice which are in italics are thought to be in Rabelais' handwriting, and it seems most probable from the perfect tense *interpretatus est* used here, that he made the entry himself after he had given the lectures, so that he was not present at the meeting of September 27, but was at Lyons during the stay of Francis I and his court (October 1-11), including probably the Seigneur de Langey. M. Bourrilly, to whom this suggestion is due (*R.E.R.* IV. 112-14), carefully guards us against taking it as more than a conjecture, but it certainly appears to be most probable. He goes on to point out how Rabelais resorted to Lyons almost every year from his first acquaintance with it in 1532. He was there in 1532, 1533, 1534, 1535, 1536, 1538, 1539, 1540, 1541-2.

Thus we see that in 1537 at Montpellier during the *grand ordinaire* from October 18 till Easter, 1538, he occupied the chair corresponding to that of pathology. *Graece interpretatus est* must be taken to mean, not that

he lectured in Greek but that he expounded the text linguistically as well as physiologically.

A letter from Boysonne to Maurice Scève, dated 1537, speaks of him lecturing at Montpellier on the *Prognostic* of Hippocrates to a crowded audience.

Hubert Susanneau in one of his *Ludi* dated 1537 highly commends the Doctor, whom he finds busy with his lectures, for the great personal charm of his presence, enough of itself, he says, to banish sickness from a patient.

Etienne Dolet also, the impetuous humanist and printer, who had established himself at Lyons in 1534, speaks in a humorous poem published in 1538 of the great reputation as a physician and anatomist enjoyed by Rabelais. In an epitaph on a criminal who had been hanged and afterwards used as an object lesson for anatomy, he congratulated the "subject" on having ended a worse than useless life in so serviceable a fashion as that of illustrating the prelection of the learned Doctor.

Salmo Macrinus, one of the guests at the banquet in honour of Dolet, celebrates in two odes the medical skill and learning of his great compatriot in Chinonais, acknowledged, he declares, in Paris, Narbonne, on the banks of the Aude as well as at Lyons.

The following year (1538) his name is again to be found on the medical register as the recipient of a sun-crown in gold for a lecture on anatomy, paid through Jean Schyron, the dean.

From the middle of 1538—except for a short visit to Aigues-Mortes (*fossa Mariana*, v. 36), where he was present at the meeting of Charles V and Francis I,

July 14-16 (*R.E.R.* III. 335)—when he left Montpellier, till 1540 we have but little trace of the whereabouts of Rabelais. It is not improbable that he visited Narbonne, Castres and other towns in the south of France and, among other places, Hyères and its islands (*Stoechades insulae*, III. 50), thus qualifying for the title "Calloïer des Isles Hières (*iépai*)" which he gives himself on the title-page of the first edition of the *Third Book* (1546).

About the middle of 1540 Rabelais took service with Guillaume du Bellay, Seigneur de Langey, at Turin, where he received letters from Bishop Pellicier, ambassador of France at Venice, on literary matters. The letters are dated July 25, October 17, 1540, and March 20, 1541. The first is on a question of the legitimacy of a child which was said to be a seven-months birth. He mentions Pliny (VII. 5) and Hippocrates. This may well have been suggested by the third chapter of *Gargantua* in which the birth of the giant-prince is discussed and in which these same references are given, with others in addition. The second letter requests Rabelais to use his influence and learning to obtain Hebrew and Syriac MSS. and Greek books for the king's library. The third letter (March 20, 1541) begs the good offices of Rabelais to ask the Seigneur de Langey to accept the dedication of an edition of some Orations of Cicero by Paulus Manutius, the Venetian printer. He also speaks of some plants—*amoureon* and *origanum heracleaticum* of Candia—which he had already mentioned. In July Langey lost his wife, who is duly deplored by Boysonne in some Latin elegiacs addressed to Rabelais.

In November 1541 Langey took Rabelais with him to Paris, whence they returned in May 1542. Benvenuto Cellini was at Fontainebleau in the employ of Francis I from 1540 to 1545, so that it is possible that these two geniuses may have forgathered. The story of Friar John ripping up the old woman's feather-bed (v. 15) closely resembles one in Cellini's *Vita* (I. 79), which was not published till 1728; it may therefore have been told orally. The date of the occurrence is given in Cellini as 1535.

M. Heulhard quotes a poem of Claude Chappuis, which seems to indicate that Rabelais was now made *Maistre des requestes* to the King. If the chapter of the *Apedefts* (v. 16) is authentic, this would be the time to obtain the information requisite for its composition; perhaps a slight argument for the authenticity of the chapter may be derived from this visit. The journey to and from Paris at this time also allowed an opportunity to publish a revised edition of *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel* (D) which appeared from the press of F. Juste in 1542. This is the authoritative edition from which all trustworthy reprints ultimately derive.

Before Langey left Turin the French ambassadors Rincon and Fregoso had been assassinated on the way to Venice, July 3, 1541, by order of the Spanish commander, Marquis del Vasto (cf. Martin du Bellay's memoirs, lib. ix.). Their despatches were saved; Langey had induced them to leave them behind. On his return to Turin (May 11) the Viceroy found increasing cause for vigilance. He had suffered much from gout, and now found himself terribly ailing. Notwithstanding this, he set out for Paris in January

1543 to consult the King on state affairs. He was seized by a final access of his malady and obliged to halt at St Symphorien between Lyons and Roanne, where he died January 9 (not the 10th as Rabelais puts it). There are touching allusions to this in III. 21 and IV. 27. Du Bellay left his *protégé* an annuity of 150 *livres Tournois* till he should have 300 *livres* from benefices, an engagement carried out probably by the Cardinal in appointing Rabelais *curé* of Meudon and St Christopher of Jambet in 1551.

After helping to embalm the body and assisting at the obsequies in the Cathedral of Le Mans, Rabelais passed some time at St Ayl near Orléans, under the protection of Etienne Lorens, the Seigneur of the place, and here commenced writing the *Third Book*.

THE THIRD BOOK

After the death of the Seigneur de Langey Rabelais and Gabriel Taphenon of Savigliano embalmed the body, and the former accompanied Etienne Lorens in the funeral cortège to St Ayl on January 30 and to Le Mans March 5, where the great statesman and patriot was laid to rest in the Cathedral. After this there is a blank in the account of our author's life, but one which may be filled with considerable probability. Most likely he paid a short visit to his native Touraine and then proceeded to take up his abode, for a time at least, in a retreat in the Orléanais found for him by Lorens, near his own château. There is a tradition,

still persistent, which speaks of "the fountain of Rabelais" and of an harbour where he worked; this is quite in harmony with what we know of his movements, so that it may be accepted, at all events provisionally.

Here then "having lost his all by shipwreck at the Light-house of Misfortune" he set to work, as he says in the Prologue, "to roll his Diogenical tub," that is, to continue his romance; and he seems to have remained in this quiet corner till after March 1544, for that is the most probable date of a jovial letter of his addressed to the bailiff Antoyne Hullot of Court Compin, N.E. of Orléans, near Combleux. It is eminently characteristic of its author, being an invitation to a fish dinner in Lent, with a mocking allusion to that institution, and a request for the loan of a copy of Plato.

Some time in this year probably Rabelais was installed by Cardinal du Bellay in his château at St Maur-les-Fossés near Paris. It had just been built for him by Philibert de l'Orme, the Lyons architect, who had achieved a distinguished position—that of chief architect to the King of France (*King Megistus*, iv. 61). This château had been built near the Abbey of St Maur for Jean du Bellay, who was Bishop of Paris, Abbot of this Convent and Prior after it had been secularized. It occupied a rising ground to the south of the Abbey and its praises are sung most enthusiastically by Rabelais in the Epistle of Dedication to the *Fourth Book*. It is described as a "Paradise of salubrity, amenity, serenity, conveniency, delights and all honest pleasures of agricultural life." The building was begun about 1541 and was dedicated in 1544. Francis I visited the château from July 7 to August 4. Our

author seems to have taken up his residence soon after, and while there to have finished his *Third Book*, for which he obtained the King's privilege dated September 19, 1545.

Till recently it was believed that the *Third Book* was composed at *the Abbey* of St Maur, because of the *Supplicatio* to Paul III (without date) requesting that the position of Rabelais as one of the canons should be regularised. An informality had been committed in making him a Canon of the Priory when it was secularized, whereas he had not been made a complete Monk while it was still a Monastery. M. Clouzot has shewn (*R.E.R.* vii. pp. 259-84) that Rabelais was probably made a canon by du Bellay, but that great opposition was raised to his admission by the eight existing canons, that this *Supplicatio* (of which we hear no more) was presented in 1536, that Rabelais did not keep residence there as canon, or at all events not more than six months, and that the appointment was allowed to lapse. There is no mention of him as canon in any other quarter, nor does he himself allude again to his possession of this title.

The *Third Book* therefore was written in 1543-5, probably at St Ayl and St Maur-les-Fossés near Paris. The composition is more finished than that of any of the other "books," though in constructive ability it is not equal to the *Gargantua*. In fact the commencement is quite undecided. It takes up the thread from the *Pantagruel*, in which Rabelais, as Master Alcofribas, was made Governor of Salmigondin. This office is now bestowed on Panurge, who at once runs headlong into debt, and when taken to task by Pantagruel on

this subject enters upon a whimsical but most eloquent defence of debtors, interpreting indebtedness as the mutual interdependence of every element in the universe, every organ and limb in the human anatomy and every person in human society, on others for support and convenience of existence. The first chapter is a kind of preface to this, being a panegyric on the able and righteous rulers of states and strenuous benefactors of the human kind, whereby they deserve divine honours. It is an expansion of one of the *Adagia* of Erasmus (i. i. 69), *Homo homini deus*, just as the opposite attitude of the tyrant who indulges his own lust of power at the expense of his subjects, and the man who will lend nothing, that is, who will not give help and who keeps selfishly aloof from his fellows, is developed from the contrasted Adage (i. i. 70), *Homo homini lupus*. These truly eloquent chapters are worked out with a wealth of illustration from Plato, Plutarch, Cicero, Virgil, with his commentator Servius, Macrobius and other classical writers, shewing that Rabelais, having lost his employment as physician and secretary to Guillaume du Bellay, has taken up humanism in earnest; this book with its constant references to Erasmus and its borrowings from the Classics, as well as the writer's own experiences of daily life, thus becomes a finished treatise on many subjects, especially divination and medical botany, as it was then known.

The book goes on tentatively at first. Panurge having been freed from debt by Pantagruel affects to be miserable and then suddenly goes into strange vagaries of dress—a brown toga and spectacles on his

cap—and makes up his mind to marry. His master Pantagruel in a most amusing chapter, laughingly chimes in with each of his arguments for and against marriage, and ultimately in the next chapter advises him to explore his future good or bad luck in marriage by means of the *Sortes Vergilianae*. This proving unsatisfactory to Panurge, dreams are tried and then, one after another, every known method of divination, till these chapters (9–28) may be looked upon as a valuable treatise on the methods of divination then known. The knowledge in support of these methods is derived from the books already mentioned, especially from the *de Divinatione* of Cicero, while the matter of the twenty-fifth chapter is to a very great extent derived from the *de occulta philosophia* of the celebrated Henricus Cornelius Agrippa. He had been appointed historiographer to Charles V, and was really a learned man, but suspected of necromancy, thanks to this book. Rabelais makes fun of him under the name of Her Trippa. Besides this, Panurge consults his friends Epistemon and Friar John, but is always confirmed in the answer he has already obtained from his various oracles, that his future wife will turn out to be an unfaithful, pilfering termagant. The twenty-ninth chapter introduces a new element into the enquiry, a *symposium* modelled on that of Macrobius, in which the question is referred to a theologian, a physician, a lawyer and a philosopher, but the result is no more encouraging than the preceding attempts, although the conversations are in the highest degree diverting. As in the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius the lawyer Postumianus is unable to appear, so in the *Third Book* the legist,

Judge Bridlegoose, is absent, having been put on trial himself and summoned to appear on a charge of having given a decision by the chance of the dice. The main current of the story is agreeably diversified by the episode of the Trial of Judge Bridlegoose, at which Pantagruel determines to appear. The defence of the Judge occupies six chapters; and now, as the appeal to the judgement of the learned has not been satisfactory, the opinion of Triboulet, the court fool of Francis I, is asked on this subject. Pantagruel had already advised this consultation in a chapter which is remarkable for its intrinsic merit as a piece of learned drollery, and also for the fact that it is adapted throughout from the treatise of Rabelais' friend Tiraqueau *On the Marriage Laws of Poitou*, to which we have already alluded. The whole of this scene, beginning with the thirtieth chapter (or even the twenty-seventh) is more or less indebted to Tiraqueau, but the thirty-seventh chapter, in which the advice of a fool is advocated, is taken from it throughout, with the exception of one paragraph on the attribution of the rôle of the fool or jester to the most finished actor of a company. This paragraph was added in the second edition (F) of 1552. But the proverb of the fool instructing the wise man, and the assertion that Kings and States have been preserved by the advice of fools is from Tiraqueau's book, with the difference that Tiraqueau gives many historical instances of benefits to States having been attributable to the advice of Women while Rabelais gives the merit to the advice given by Fools. How he must have chuckled as he made this change! Also from Tiraqueau comes the thought that the worldly-

minded, sagacious, successful man of business may be a fool in the estimation of the Celestial Intelligences, while the charming story from the gloss of Giovanni Andreae is also given by the Poitevin jurist, though it is developed by Rabelais in his own inimitable manner. Noticeable also in this connexion with Tiraqueau is a passage in the forty-ninth chapter, when *Pantagruelion*, or hemp, is being discussed and our author is giving a world of instruction on botany—mostly derived from Pliny—and the subject of the sexes of plants is mentioned. The plants given in illustration of this theory are clearly taken from a passage of Tiraqueau on this topic. Well may Rabelais in dedicating his edition of the Medical Letters of Manardi to the learned jurist have expressed an ardent expectation and hope for the appearance of this third edition of the “Poitou Laws,” which as a matter of fact were published in Paris in 1546, practically synchronizing with Rabelais’ own *Third Book*.

The conclusion of the Book is aptly given in a paeon in praise of the herb *Pantagruelion*, or Hemp. Panurge, dissatisfied with all the answers given him by the various oracles he has consulted, is bent on travelling to consult the oracle of the *Holy Bottle*, which is in Cathay, or Upper India; Pantagrue, who is all good nature, gets permission from his father Gargantua to make the voyage, and great preparations are made in the formation and equipment of a fleet of twelve ships for that purpose. Among other stores that are put on board there is a great quantity of hemp; and this leads to a disquisition on the great merits of this plant in providing for so many uses among men

(including that of hanging), and especially in making sails by which ships are propelled; also on the virtues of *asbestos*, the flax that cannot be consumed by fire. The natural history required for an account of this plant and a great number of others incidentally mentioned are derived directly from Pliny, and this loan practically concludes this book.

Thus we may see that though in the main current this book is greatly indebted to Erasmus; divisions of it are derived in their turn from anatomical writers, especially Galen; from Cicero and Cornelius Agrippa in divination, from Tiraqueau in divinity and domestic discipline, and from Pliny in botany. But besides these main sources it must not be forgotten that there are very many other writers whom Rabelais has diligently studied; specially to be mentioned are Plutarch's *Moral treatises*—Rabelais' own copy still survives in the *Bibliothèque nationale*—Catullus, and many others. With all his enthusiasm for medicine and natural science, this writer never ceased being a humanist; he carefully followed the writings of Budaeus, Erasmus, Poliziano, especially noting studies on Civil and Canon law.

The Prologue of this "book" is to be noticed for the patriotic note that is struck in it. It is with a strong feeling of regret that the author takes to rolling his "Diogenical tub," only because he is unable to take part himself in the defence of his country. The account of Diogenes at the siege of Corinth is from Lucian, but it is derived through the preface of Budaeus's *Annotations on the Pandects*, most graphically amplified in Rabelais' best vein. In its patriotism this Prologue

contradicts previous utterances on war given in the *Gargantua* (c. 46) that "what was formerly called Prowess is now called Robbery and Wickedness." Now, however, the Prologue combats the view of Erasmus in his essay of *Dulce bellum inexpertis* (*Ad. iv. i. i*) which insists that War is anything but beautiful; it declares that "the ineffable Perfection of the Divine Wisdom" is comparable to the Array of an Army in the Field. This is now the ruling idea, while France is resisting the attacks of Charles V, and surely such patriotic feeling is fully justified.

In composing the *Third Book* Rabelais appears to have been genuinely doing what he professes, namely writing a patriotic book in support of his fellow-countrymen in their resistance to the enemy, and then compiling his treatise on divination, a subject which had always interested him, if we may judge by his *Pantagrueline Prognostication* and his Almanacks, and the allusion he makes to the book of Prognostications in a letter from Rome to the Bishop of Maillezais. His treatment of the various forms of divination is directed to the solution of the question of marriage and the imperfections of the female sex,—for he takes part against women in the discussion of the *querelle des femmes*—but underlying this is intended the conduct of life in general, of which marriage is taken as one of the most critical steps. The line taken up by the writer is indicated two or three times over, viz. that in such near concernments a man should be his own counsellor and not consult extraneous advice, in fact that he should exercise the *liberum arbitrium*, though Rabelais would scarcely wish to draw special attention

to this subject on its theological side, where it was the source of bitter controversy, in opposition to predestination. A curious side-light on this subject may be seen in that strange book *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, in the list of contents of which Queen Eleutherillida is said to be *el libero arbitrio*. This cardinal point in life is brought out by Rabelais on every possible occasion. The cramping discipline of the cloister-life had caused him to rebel sturdily and to insist that freedom from unnecessary restraint was the only rational government for rational spirits, who were not of themselves inclined to evil.

The *Third Book* (published with the Royal Privilege of September 19, 1545) might have passed without opposition from the Sorbonne, but for the end of the Prologue in which the "Levitical Hypocrites" (i.e. the Theological Faculty of Paris) are warned off from drinking at the Rabelaisian tun, the final warning of Raminagrobis in c. 21, and the comments in the next two chapters (22, 23). The description of the various monastic orders by Raminagrobis (derived for the most part from Cornelius Agrippa) and the pretended defence of them by Panurge in the succeeding chapters were admirably calculated to irritate the monkish fraternity in holding up their practices to ridicule, especially that of hunting out bequests for their Orders.

First the Franciscans and Dominicans are pointed out as the guiding spirits of the Roman Church in scenting out heresy; then the Capuchins and Minims are scoffed at for their wretched and woe-begone conditions of Ichthyophagy. Panurge, the *soi-disant*

defender of the Orders, reviles the old poet Raminagrobis on the ground that his poem is written in sophistical disjunctives, by which his statements need be true in only one part in order to gain acceptance. Next Epistemon undertakes the defence, pointing out that Raminagrobis meant literally what he said, when he complained of fleas and other noxious insects, and did not refer to the good, holy fathers at all. This only accentuates the comparison and makes it worse. Unfortunately Rabelais was betrayed into the perpetration of what was probably a common joke in the Cloister—"son asne (for *âme*) s'en va à trente mille charrettées de diables." This gave the Sorbonne a handle for a charge of heresy. In vain Rabelais excused it later in the *Epistre dedicatoire* of the *Fourth Book*.

In the next chapter (c. 23) Panurge proceeds to make the case worse by his pretended advocacy. He refers pointedly and particularly to the obits and anniversaries in honour of departed saints, as being so many excuses for gormandizing, and also alludes to the notorious case of the Franciscans of Orleans (whom he styles "hobgoblins," as he does also in *P* 7) and their pretence of the ghost of the Provost's wife, who had been buried, but who returned to scare them with her knockings. This knavery had been spoken of by Sleidan in his *de statu religionis et reipublicae* (1534), by H. Estienne in the *Apologie pour Hérodote* and by G. Buchanan in his poem *Franciscanus*. Later it is fully recorded by R. Scot in his *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1584).

It was a very sore point. Another charge is hinted

at in the pseudo-defence—the presence of the Monks and Friars at the burial services of the wealthy, and their neglect of the poor, from whom they can expect nothing. This is reinforced by the story of the Franciscan Observantin who rather than carry money about him throws into the deep water the tax-collector whom he was carrying pickaback across a mill-stream.

The gibe against the Cloister-monks for their gormandizing and putting the beef on to stew while they were mumbling through their long Matins-service (c. 15) was so hackneyed that it might have gone unnoticed, but the sustained raillery of cc. 21–23 could not be allowed to pass without a retort of some kind, and the charge of heresy in the substitution of *asne* for *âme* was that retort.

Another point is dealt with in III. 48, viz. the subject of the marriage of children without the parents' presence or consent, if a priest is there to give his consent and blessing. This priestly privilege and its abuse had grown up from Roman imperial times, when divorce had become so scandalously frequent that the bishops of the newly established Christian Church had been able to put a ban on such laxity among their own flock and induce them to practice a greater purity and strictness of life; thus by degrees in the decadence of the Empire the Church had gained control over the celebration of marriage and later had exalted it into a sacrament. In bringing this about the clergy had weakened the bond of the *patria potestas*, to suit cases of a pagan father and a Christian son, and they went so far as to absolve a son from obedience to his father in order to submit himself to a more holy bond with

the Church. In course of time this led to great irregularities, and cases occurred in which a cleric, abusing his powers in these matters, brought about great trouble and scandal in family relations. It had become flagrant, and a remedy was proposed and carried at the Council of Trent, in spite of much opposition.

Rabelais writes forcibly on this subject and undoubtedly by this helped to incense the theological faculty, when it came on the top of other scandals in previous chapters. All these girds at the abuses of the Roman Church were matters of common gossip and may be found up and down in the *Colloquies* of Erasmus; indeed some of them are derived from that source, but Erasmus wrote in Latin; whereas the racy stories in the *Pantagruel* and *Gargantua* and in the other books were written in colloquial French and accessible to everyone. *Hinc illae lacrymae*, and the Sorbonne was delighted to be able to seize upon the *asne* for *âme* and to found a charge of heresy upon it.

RABELAIS AT METZ

At the beginning of 1546, on the publication, or even before it, of his *Third Book* Rabelais found it prudent to make his escape to Metz. Here he was again under the protection of M. de Saint-Ayl (Etienne Lorens) who possessed property there and in the neighbourhood. His presence in Metz is proved by a letter to Cardinal du Bellay from Jean Sturm, director of the gymnasium at Strassburg and one of the chief

leaders of the Protestant movement, to the effect that Rabelais had been driven out of France by the untoward state of affairs and that he had come to Metz. The letter is dated Saverne, March 28; the year is fixed by the mention in the same letter of the Emperor's arrival at Speyer on the 24th of March; this we know was in 1546. At the end of March St Ayl returned to Metz from a diplomatic visit to the German princes. Rabelais, whose *Third Book* had been censured before Easter 1546, got an appointment as physician to the hospital at 120 *livres* a year, and soon afterwards received a visit from some Paris courtiers, presenting him with a silver wine-flask in the shape of a breviary and requesting him to continue his writings. This is attested by the *Ancien Prologue* to the *Fourth Book*, or rather, to the instalment of ten chapters, which he proceeded to write. A year later St Ayl returned from another conference with his Protestant friends Sturm and Sleidan, but he had not managed to see du Bellay. Upon this Rabelais wrote a letter dated Metz, February 6, to the Cardinal, asking for pecuniary assistance in a manner that seems somewhat exaggerated. The year-date of this letter is in question. It is probably 1547, after the return of St Ayl, which it mentions (*R.E.R.* III. 350-60). It seems curious that he should complain of poverty, when the payment of 120 *livres* up to Midsummer is mentioned in the records at Metz. A slight *résumé* of the rudimentary *Fourth Book* will be in place here.

THE FOURTH BOOK, ED. 1548 (A)

The episodes of this partial edition of the *Fourth Book* are, the blazoning of the twelve ships of the expedition; an account of their departure from the harbour of Thalassa and the purpose of their voyage—not to follow the route of the Portuguese round the Cape of Good Hope, as they did on their previous voyage to Cathay, but to go round by the north-west passage north of Canada, avoiding the Arctic ocean and then descending on the other side to Cathay which was in the same latitude as Olonne (46°). After three days' sailing they met with a ship that was returning from Lantern-land, their own destination before going to the Holy Bottle. On board this vessel was a sheep-dealer with a number of sheep. Panurge and he get up a quarrel which resulted in the purchase of a sheep from the merchant. Panurge throws it overboard and the other sheep follow and drag all the shepherds, who try to hold them back, into the sea and all are drowned. The travellers next land at the Island Ennasin, where all the people have snub-noses like the ace of clubs and are all related together. Next follows the Isle of Cheli, where the Queen and Princesses all kiss the travellers. Friar John objects to this and finds his way into the kitchen. This introduces a story in Rabelais' own life on a visit to Florence (cf. p. 40). They pass by the Isle of Procuration, where Friar John accepts the invitation of one of the Catchpole inhabitants to belabour him mercilessly for money.

The Islands of Tohu and Bohu succeed, where Nose-slitter devours windmills, saucepans and pots and pans, but dies by being choked by a lump of fresh butter. This leads to a disquisition on a number of strange deaths, which is followed by the description of a Storm which has become celebrated, recording the different conduct of Panurge and Friar John. Their escape from this storm abruptly concludes this fragmentary book.

M. Romier (*R.E.R.* x. 113-42) is of opinion that the letter to the Cardinal was dated February 6, 1547, and that the answer was a summons to accompany him to Rome. Accordingly Rabelais drew his salary as physician to the hospital up to Midsummer, was in Paris by July 10, the date of the duel of Jarnac and Chataigneraye (cf. *Sciomachia* init.), and left Reims with the Cardinal, who had attended the coronation of Henry II, and reached Rome September 27, 1547. Du Bellay had not been in disgrace at the accession of Henry, but had enjoyed the support of the Constable Montmorency, insomuch that he alone of all the former ministers had remained on the royal council. It was rather a mark of distinction that he should be appointed plenipotentiary at the Roman Court during two years. He was there from September 27, 1547, till September 22, 1549, attended by his trusty physician, at the Palazzo SS. Apostoli.

Rabelais, as may be seen from the last part of his *Ancien Prologue* to the *Fourth Book* and the account in the *Epistle of Dedication* of the second edition to Cardinal Châtillon, had been disgusted at the outcry raised against him, especially at the charge of heresy,

and laid down his pen, determined to write no more. On his journey from Metz to Rome in 1547 he had left with the printers his MS. of the rudimentary *Fourth Book* as well as an Almanack for 1548, probably with the object of obtaining money. We have another record of this in the shape of a money-order for thirty-two gold crowns sent by the banker Arnould Combraglia of Paris, which he cashed in Rome July 18, 1548.

In March 1549 he was present at the *Sciomachia*, or sham fight, given by Cardinal du Bellay in the Piazza SS. Apostoli, to celebrate with suitable honours the birth of Louis d'Orléans, *second* son of Henry II and Catharine de' Medici, who, however, died in infancy. Rabelais sent an account of this in a letter to the Cardinal de Guise, which he afterwards edited with additions, published by Seb. Gryphius. One of the chief reasons for this was a desire to advocate the cause of Cardinal du Bellay and his family and to make known the services they had rendered to their country. The *Sciomachia* was held March 14, 1549, but a few days afterwards Cardinal du Bellay learned that some intrigue had been set on foot against him by his enemies the Guises, and soon afterwards he was informed that the office of "Protector of the affairs of France" had been transferred from him to Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, who arrived in Rome on June 13. Du Bellay was ordered to remain, but soon there was friction between the two ambassadors, and in reply to his request to be recalled his brother Martin, Seigneur de Langey, announced to him, about September 15, that leave had been granted. Accordingly he left Rome September 22 with "ten or twelve of his servants," among whom was

Rabelais. He arrived at Lyons in the beginning of November, but very soon afterwards heard of the death of Paul III and received a royal command to embark at Marseilles for Rome, so as to take part in the conclave. Leaving Lyons about November 20 du Bellay reached Rome on December 12 accompanied by Cardinals de Guise, Châtillon and Vendôme, and they immediately joined the conclave, which lasted from November 29 till February 7, 1550, and resulted in the election of Cardinal del Monte, Julius III.

Rabelais had been left at Lyons in November and occupied himself in editing the letter he had sent to Cardinal de Guise on the *Sciomachia* of March 14, and in preparing an Almanack for the year 1550. The following is an account of the *Sciomachia*:

SCIOMACHIA

Cardinal du Bellay in Rome determined to celebrate the birth of the royal Prince in a striking manner, especially by a sham-fight (*Sciomachia*) in the Piazza SS. Apostoli, where stood the Palazzo Colonna, which was now his residence. This piazza had been the scene of extravagant festivities in 1473 given by Cardinal Riario, "nephew" of Sixtus IV, to celebrate the meeting of Ercole d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, and Leonora of Aragon. Jean du Bellay determined that his entertainment should not be inferior to this. He had intended also a *Naumachia*, or sham sea-fight, opposite the Castle of St Angelo, which had been

¹ An Italian account of the *Sciomachia* is given *R.E.R.* ix. 321, which confirms much of the detail.

formerly, in 1527, the scene of distinguished courage and generalship on the part of Guillaume du Bellay against the attacks of the Bourbon troops. This had to be given up on account of an abnormal rising of the Tiber, which rendered impossible any manœuvres in the river at that time. The land-fight, however, took the form of a bull-fight, a siege and fireworks, which were carried out with great elaboration, many of the Italian nobles taking part in the various engagements. The whole was followed by a magnificent banquet, at which were present many Cardinals and the principal personages in Italy. A careful and detailed description of this was written by Rabelais in the form of a letter to the Cardinal de Guise and published by Gryphius. Even in this letter may be remarked the readiness with which Rabelais records parallels from his classical reading on every possible occasion, whether it be in instances of news of great events being announced by rumour in an impossible or incredible space of time, the tutelary divinities of Plato, or the dish of Vitellius, etc.

On the return of the Cardinals from Rome to Lyons Rabelais was approached by Cardinal de Châtillon and requested to finish his *Fourth Book*, but, feeling bitterly the injustice with which his *Third Book* had been treated, he declined, as he did also later in Paris. It was not till Châtillon had obtained a royal privilege, dated August 5, 1550, for the continuation of the *Fourth Book* and the revision of the *Third Book*, and had assured him of the goodwill towards him felt by the late King Francis and the present King Henry, that he would consent to proceed. He was also induced

by the additional persuasion of Cardinal du Bellay, and was made *curé* at St Martin at Meudon in the diocese of Paris January 9, 1551 (n.s.), and of St Christopher of Jambet in the diocese of Le Mans, of which René du Bellay, the Cardinal's brother, was bishop. This is pointed out by M. Romier as the result of a close examination of the *Epistle of Dedication* to the *Fourth Book*, dated January 28, 1552 (n.s.), and prefixed to the Book. It was therefore at St Maur-les-Fossés and Paris that the completed *Fourth Book* was composed.

This is supported by a statement of Antoine le Roy in his *Floretum Philosophicum*, seu ludus Meudonianus (4^o Paris 1649). He says: "in praedicto Fossatensi agro suum Pantagruelismum confecisse narratur Rabelaeus."

It is to be noted that a *crise Gallicane*, or strained relations, had arisen between the French King and the new Pope on the question of Parma and the maintenance in that duchy of Orazio Farnese, grandson of Paul III, who had married Diana, a natural daughter of Henry II. It had become acute in the middle of 1551, so much so that in August a proposition had been made in the French Council to set up a patriarch in France endowed with spiritual supremacy. Henry, however, was unwilling to become guilty of schism, and in this he was influenced by the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Jesuits, while the Pope's resentment was moderated by the Duke of Ferrara, and the crisis came to an end in the beginning of 1552. In the Prologue to the *Fourth Book* the arrangement of Parma is slightly mentioned; while the subject of the Prologue itself is that of moderation in wishes, based on Aesop's Fable of "Mercury and

the Woodman" as set forth by Erasmus, *Adag.* iv. 3. 57 (*Fluvius non semper fert secures*).

It seems most likely then that, prompted by Châtillon and du Bellay, Rabelais completed his *Fourth Book* at the château of St Maur-les-Fossés during the year 1551. The resignation of his two *cures* at Meudon and St Christopher of Jambet was made two years later, January 9, 1553 (n.s.).

THE FOURTH BOOK, ED. 1552 (B)

As has been said, the voyage to Cathay, where is the oracle of the Holy Bottle, is to be followed out this time by the N.W. passage to the north of Canada, or *la nouvelle France*, as it was called, instead of following the route of the Portuguese round the Cape of Good Hope, by which Pantagruel and his followers had previously reached the same destination. This course was supposed to be much shorter and less perilous. In several respects this edition is more definite and detailed than A. Among other points the name of the pilot is added, and it is interesting to find that he is called Jamet Brahier. He has been identified by M. Lefranc and M. de Grandmaison as the husband of Jehanne Gaudete, sister of Marie Gaudete, the wife of Jamet Rabelais, our author's brother. He was a merchant who trafficked on the Loire and its affluents (*R.E.R.* iv. 154, 184). This is another instance pointing to the close personal connexion between this

romance and its author, such as has been made out in the *Gargantua*.

. We are also told in this second edition (iv. 1) that Xenomanes, the chief director of their course, had left with Gargantua an Hydrography, marking out the route they intended to take. M. Margry in his *Navigations françaises*, p. 338, had identified him with Jean Alfonse of Saintonge, who had written a *Cosmographie* for the use of Francis I, which was published later (1559) at Poitiers. It has been re-published (Paris 1904) by M. Georges Musset. This suggestion was adopted by Dr Le Double and M. Lefranc, but recently (*R.E.R.* x. 1-67) it has been shewn conclusively by M. Sainéan that this Cosmography is a shameless piece of plagiarism from the Spanish *Suma de geografia* of Fernandez Enciso. This Spanish work was published in 1519 whereas the *Cosmographie* was totally unknown till 1867. The clue that Rabelais himself has given is the title of Xenomanes, *traverseur des voyes perilleuses*, and this is the title assumed by J. Bouchet in a volume published in 1526. It has been seen how Rabelais delights in using the names and titles of his friends and acquaintances in his books, and it seems possible that Bouchet is thus intended for identification with Xenomanes, notwithstanding the fact that he was no traveller. The title must suffice. But it is not improbable that the navigations of the great explorers Jacques Cartier and Jean Alfonse are here in view.

The N.W. passage is indicated in B as before, but with some slight additions. A new "Island" is now inserted, *Medamothi* (Nowhere), and this has been plausibly identified with Newfoundland, while a

reference is suggested to the royal princes Francis and Henry and the marriage of the latter in 1533. This is in accordance with the present purpose of the book, to conciliate the favour and maintain the cause of the royal house.

The travellers make purchases at a fair that is being held there, each according to his taste; meantime a despatch is received from Gargantua in a specially swift-sailing boat "The Sea-swallow," which is described in accordance with the natural history of the Flying-fish given by Pliny (9. 82) and Pierre Gilles. The Esquire who brings the despatch is fêted and Pantagruel prepares an answer, informing his father that he has procured for him a *tarand*, which by the description given is clearly a reindeer, and three "unicorns" which prove to be giraffes. Such presents were in fashion at the time. D'Albuquerque gave an elephant to Leo X and Sultan Soleiman had presented a giraffe to Lorenzo de' Medici in 1480.

At the outset of their journey as they are beginning, after four days sailing on a route they had traversed before, to wind about the pole (i.e. to steer westward), after going far enough north to be above the land, which is described as Medamothi, they fall in with a merchant-vessel coming in the opposite direction from Lantern-land. This was their first objective before they reach Cathay, and it has been supposed with some probability that this vessel is one of the two sent back by the explorer Roberval to Francis I, according to the order made to bring him news. But Rabelais proceeds to adapt and elaborate an episode of Merlin Cocai (*Baldus*, bk XI.) describing a trick

of Cingar (the prototype of Panurge), by which he causes a number of sheep and their Ticinese shepherds to be drowned near Chioggia, by throwing one of the biggest of the sheep into the sea, whereat all the others follow and drag the shepherds with them. This story with its dramatic incidents occupies two chapters in A and three in B. It is developed most graphically and is one of the most successful pieces of our author's art of story-telling. They then proceed to the island of Ennasin, or noseless (i.e. senseless) people, who are described as having red faces and ridiculously snub noses. These characteristics have been noted as the peculiarities of the Red-skins of N. America and of the Esquimaux and therefore lying on the way of Pantagruel's journey. Great fun is made of their intimate relationships, which seem like those of the community of wives and children in Plato's *Republic*, book v. Proceeding towards the N.E. they come to the island of Cheli which was subject to King Panigon, where the court ladies kiss the travellers all round. This has been paralleled by the description of a similar practice among the English ladies of that time in a letter of Erasmus, though of course it is impossible from this to say that England is intended. They then proceed to Procuration Island, which is "scribbled all over" and inhabited by Catchpoles, who make a living by compensation for beatings that they endure. After an illustration from Gellius of similar conduct in a Roman gentleman, Friar John goes ashore and asks in a loud voice, who wished to be beaten for a money payment. Several men rush up, crying "Io" (the Italian for "I") to signify their readiness, and one of them is beaten

unmercifully and liberally rewarded. Next they pass the islands of Tohu and Bohu (Hebrew words taken from the first chapter of Genesis, signifying "Solitude" and "Void"), and here we have the story of the giant Bringuenarilles, or Nose-slitter, who lives on windmills, but has had to subsist on the frying-pans, etc. of the country, and who ultimately is choked by a piece of fresh butter. This is abridged and altered from a ridiculous story in the *Disciple de Pantagruel*, and illustrated from Erasmus, Pliny, Suetonius, Baptista Fulgosius and others; the illustrations are amplified in B. Episodes are also taken from the same source in chapter 44.

We now come to the great storm, the account of which is founded on Merlin Cocai (*Baldus* XI.-XII.), and the storm given in the first book of Virgil's *Aeneid*; this is made more than probable by citations from Virgil himself and extracts obviously taken from Servius's commentary on the passage *Aen.* I. 93 sqq. Among other sources there is a curious one from Budaeus's translation of the Pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *de Mundo*, in which French names formed on the model of the Graeco-Latin words descriptive of "squalls," etc. are given in the exact order which they occupy in Budaeus. In the additions of B some lively touches are derived from a *Colloquy* of Erasmus, entitled *Naufragium*. After escaping from this storm they land at the Isle of the *Macraeons*, or the Long-livers. Here the first edition A ends; the story is resumed from this point in B, chapter 25, for this edition expands the ten chapters of A to twenty-five.

The identification of the Isle of the Macraeons with

some place on the N.W. passage presents considerable difficulty. At the outset the description of the island closely resembles a passage at the beginning of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, utilized in the *Gargantua* and in the *Fifth Book*; indeed reference to it is pointedly made in a note of the *briefve declaration d'aulcunes dictions plus obscures on quatriesme livre*, a short explanation of difficulties, which is appended to this Book, manifestly by Rabelais himself. An account is found in the note of "Obelisks, Pyramids, etc., with divers inscriptions," such as are actually to be found in the *Hypnerotomachia*. The next chapter is composed of a long passage of Eusebius *de praeparatione evangelica*, v. 17, §§ 10-11. This, however, is copied from Plutarch, *de defect. orac.* c. 18, a favourite treatise of Rabelais in the *Third Book*. The passage describes the island as one of the *Sporades*, or Scattered Islands in the Ocean, and subject to the ruler of Britain; and it goes on to say that it is the habitation of heroes whose abiding there brings blessing to the place, while the decease of one of them is attended with disturbances in the sky, the sea and the land. As this passage is translated pretty closely, it is not easy to say what place is intended; the Channel Islands, the Isle of Anglesey or the Scilly Islands have been suggested. It may easily stand for any unknown region.

The account of the decease of the heroes is then pointedly referred to the death of Guillaume du Bellay and illustrated by passages from Virgil, Pliny and Josephus, ending with a longish passage from Baptista Fulgosius (who was cited and mentioned in A) and a passage of seven or eight lines translated almost

literally from Erasmus, supported by references to Dion Cassius and Suidas. Thus this chapter, made up as it is almost entirely of passages from Classical and Renaissance writers, can hardly have more than a general reference to one of Pantagruel's stopping-places. Besides the circumstances of Langey's death, there is a mention of the names of those present, among whom are Rabelais and Epistemon (who is designated in III. 34 as a fellow-student of Rabelais and Ponocrates at Montpellier). This parade of learning fires the emulation of Brother John, who would himself also be a scholar. The next chapter gives the story of the death of Pan and the identification with Christ, taken from Eusebius *de praep. evan.* v. 17, §§ 5-9, though again that is derived from Plutarch. It has been pointed out by M. Reinach (*R.E.R.* iv. 100) that Plutarch's recital of the proclamation of the death of Pan is really a confused account of the Syrian lament for Adonis (Thammuz), in which a refrain was repeated three times *Θαμοῦς παμμέγας τέθνηκεν*. Cf. Milton, *P. L.* I. 446.

We now come to "Sneaking Island, where Lent reigned," with an anatomical account of his organs and limbs, borrowed mostly from Galen's *de usu partium*, together with a comparison of these parts in detail with various objects of common life. Two of these comparisons may be found in the great surgeon Ambroise Paré, and throughout the resemblances (which formerly were looked upon as fanciful) have been justified by a careful piece of work by Dr Le Double. Lent is thus represented as a pitiful, even a revolting creature, and compared with *Amodunt* and *Discordance*, two misshapen

beings described in an *Apologue* of Celio Calcagnini, a Ferrarese physician. Rabelais goes on to insist that *Antiphysis* (Anti-Nature) afterwards produced similar beings in Calvin and Gabriel de Puy-Herbaut, who had formerly assailed him with invective.

A monstrous *Physeter*, or whale, is now descried coming to attack the fleet. The description of it is borrowed from Pliny, and the conduct of the Pilot in command of the fleet is taken from the similar practice of Alexander's admiral Nearchus, reinforced by a quotation from Cicero. The incident, however, may well have been suggested by the fact that for a long time past Breton and Basque sailors had carried on whale fishery in these northern seas, so that it is natural to use this as an episode in the present voyage. Pantagruel for once resumes his gigantic proportions and powers, and slays the monster which had struck terror into the navigators, especially Panurge.

They now land at "Wild Island" and proceed to cut up and stow away certain parts of the *Physeter*. After a repast certain "Chitterlings" are noted spying on their movements, and they were concerned to find huge battalions of them marching to attack them. These are defeated however and literally "cut to pieces" by Friar John and an army of Cooks, whom he had ensconced in a military engine called a Sow (*Truye*), from its resemblance to the wooden Horse of Troy (*Troye*). It can hardly be disputed that the Swiss are aimed at in this satire, indeed Rabelais hints it himself. A good deal of Classical and other learning is expended on this episode and allusion is made to the Council of Trent, in which the observance of Lent

had been insisted on, thus causing much heart-burning. The Queen of the Chitterlings makes peace and a treaty with Pantagruel, and the travellers go on to the Island of *Ruach*, or wind. This has been identified with the Island of Aeolus in the *Aeneid* and also tentatively with Avignon, which is notoriously subject to such visitations. Swift and Sterne are indebted to these chapters. Another partial source is the treatise of Hippocrates *de Flatibus*.

The wretched Island of *Popefigs*, or people who made "the fig at" (or scorned) the Pope, is next visited, and a story is told of a husbandman who got the better of a devil in disposing of his produce; they then go on to the *Papimanes*, or the people who are madly devoted to the Pope and live only in longing for the time when they will see him among them. This leads to the panegyric of the *Decretals*, or book of Papal government, which is extolled by Homenas, the bishop of the Papimanes, as the cause and source of every blessing. This exaggerated laudation is of course only satire in the thinnest disguise, and it was probably this portion of the book more than any other that led to its censure by the *Parlement* and a year later to the compulsory resignation by Rabelais of his two cures.

The episode of the Frozen Words, which follows, is held to refer specially to the actual voyage by the N.W. passage, for it is placed at the end of June, when the Arctic ice would be melting, so that the ships which were coasting under the pole, i.e. about 67° N., would experience the effect of this. Pantagruel standing up discovers that strange noises are in the air and the travellers' own sense of hearing soon con-

firms this. They are then assured by the Pilot that in the preceding winter a terrible battle took place there between the Arimaspians and the Cloud-walkers. This has been taken to refer to the battle of Marignano, between the French and the Swiss in September 1515; at all events many of the cries that are recorded here are to be found in the chorus of the celebrated song composed by the French musician Jannequin, called *Deffaicte des Suisses à Marignan*.

Chapters 57-62 are devoted to the consideration of the bad and good points of Messer Gaster, the first master of arts in the world, the text being taken from the prologue of the Latin poet Persius: *Magister artis ingenique largitor VENTER*. The considerations, which are followed out in detail, seem to be suggested by the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, in which play all works of utility and common life, not to speak of the arts and elegances, are said to be due to the compelling power of *Penia* or Poverty, whereas *Plutus*, or Wealth, indisposes men to exertion. After a general introduction on these lines (c. 57) Rabelais inveighs against the impostures of the *Engastrimythes* or Diviners (i.e. the pretenders to sanctity and power) with the gluttonous sacrifices of the *Gastrolaters*, in Lent and at other times, to Manducus, their "ventripotent God" (cc. 58-60). On the other side two chapters (61-2) are devoted to the various useful inventions that have been brought into vogue by the necessities of Messer Gaster.

The next episode is a calm and the method of raising the wind by a good meal, and its sufficiency in answering a number of problems proposed for consideration. Into this is introduced a long list of

serpents and noxious creatures, mostly derived from Pliny, Avicenna and Nicander, the poet-priest of Claros.

The last two chapters (66-7) are taken up with the firing of the cannons of the fleet while Panurge is in the bread-room between the decks, as a practical joke to scare him, and the result of his fright.

In this book is to be noticed the prevalence of Italian words and phrases, which might be expected from a continued residence in Rome of nearly two years (1547-9), and also the Hebrew names employed to designate many of the places visited by the fleet.

It may be fanciful to find a resemblance between the voyage of Pantagruel and that of Ulysses, and the places visited by them, but taking into consideration the many allusions to the *Odyssey* (and also to the strange voyages in the *Vera Historia* of Lucian) that may be discovered in Rabelais, a parallel list of places mentioned in both may not be without interest.

Ennasin	The Ciconians
Cheli	The Lotos-Eaters
Bringuenarilles	The Cyclops
The Macraeons	Aeolus (1st visit)
Sneaking Island	The Laestrygonians
Wild Island	Circe and her animals
Ruach	Aeolus (2nd visit)
The Frozen Words	The Sirens
The Popefigs	Scylla
The Papimanes	Charybdis
Messer Gaster	The Oxen of the Sun
Chaneph	Calypso
Ganabin	Alcinöus

Of course only the most general of resemblances can be traced, and the Isle of Procuration has no counterpart in this list. In the same way only a few

resemblances can be made out for the peoples along the north of Canada, and it is clear that the Isle of the Macraeons is derived from the account in Plutarch's *de defect. orac.*, while Bringuenarilles and the Wild Island are taken from the *Disciple de Pantagruel*, the last being evidently aimed at the Swiss.

There is also another possible source, viz. a conjecture that in 1536 Rabelais returned from Rome with the Cardinal's baggage on board a merchant vessel called the *Telamonia* (from Porto Telamone in Tuscany) and visited an island (St Antiochia, S.W. of Sardinia, actually bearing the name *Enosis* in Pliny, 3. 84) in order to find out what Charles V had been doing there on his visit to the island in the previous year. Returning from there by the S.W. wind he would coast along as far as Marseilles, and thus be able to see personally Mont Argentaro, Piombino, and other places along that coast, such as Genoa, San Remo, Taggia and the *Fossa Mariana*, which are mentioned in the *Fourth* and the *Fifth Books*. If this supposition should prove correct, a point would be made in discovering the source of the Italian nomenclature of the shipping-tackle and the sails, etc., which is so strikingly displayed in his description of the storm.

Noticeable also is the Italianizing tendency of the language employed in the *Fourth Book*, such as the constant use of the title *Messer* as well as the repeated allusions to the *jardins secrets*, or private gardens, and casinos of the Pope and of some of the nobles in Rome, while the magistrates of some of the islands where the travellers land are styled *podestà*. An interesting point also is the list in the Prologue of musicians of

two periods with thirty-seven years interval. The years indicated are probably 1513 and 1550, the accessions respectively of Leo X and Julius III. The introduction of profane airs into cathedral services by the singers of the Pope's choirs is alluded to in the Prologue, but seriously reprobated in a somewhat enigmatical passage in iv. 62 which perhaps refers to Papal legislation on that subject (cf. *Extrav. Commun.* III. I. I).

The object of this part of the *Fourth Book* is to support the French cause in the *crise Gallicane* and to dwell on the merits of the du Bellay family, as had already been done in the *Sciomachia*. This would sufficiently account for the extremely anti-Roman attitude of the chapters on Lent, on the Popefigs, the Papimanes and Messer Gaster. These are relieved by the geographical features of the voyage and the attention drawn to the colonizing policy of the French king. Other points to be noticed are a kind of excuse for Francis I in the story of the Lord of Basché and the Catchpoles (iv. 12), where Basché, maddened by the persecution of the Prior of St Louant, threatens to leave the country and to take sides with the Sultan. This may be an allusion to the odium raised by Charles V against the French king, when he entered into relations with the corsair Barbarossa and the Sultan, so as to harass the Emperor in the Mediterranean and his brother Ferdinand in Hungary. It was made a great scandal that a Christian monarch should give any countenance to the Moslems. This remark in Rabelais may be intended as a palliation of the conduct of Francis.

Again in the *Sciomachia*, published in 1549, after

Cardinal du Bellay had been superseded by Ippolito d'Este, a long account is given of Diana and her nymphs, who are represented as leading personages in the sham-fight, in fact as affording the subject of strife between the contending parties. This has been explained as a compliment to Diane de Poitiers, the King's mistress, who was all powerful at court (*R.E.R.* VII. 279). There is also a complimentary allusion to "Messer Philibert de l'Orme, chief Architect of King Megistus" in IV. 61. At this time he was high in favour at court.

The arguments that Rabelais did not return to Rome with Cardinal du Bellay in November 1549 are, that on the return journey, while passing near Florence, the Cardinal was detained by sickness at a little village named Scarperia and, *not having a physician with him*, he applied to Cosimo de' Medici to send him one. Two letters of his on this subject survive. Also there exists a list of the attendants of our Cardinal at the conclave, and Rabelais is not found among them, although physicians and surgeons are among the attendant officers. Moreover, although there was plenty of matter for satire in this conclave, there is no allusion to it in the *Fourth Book* or elsewhere, unless the additions made in F (ed. 1552) to the blazon of Triboulet (III. 38), "Conclavist fool, bullist f. summist f. abbreviating f.," be considered as referring ever so slightly to this.

The *Fourth Book* then in its finished form, containing an *Epistle Dedicatory* to the Cardinal Odet Coligny of Châtillon, a Prologue and sixty-seven chapters, was published January 28, 1552. The first twenty-five

chapters consisted of the ten chapters of the old *Fourth Book* of 1548 reviewed and amplified, with the addition of cc. 2-4, cc. 13-15 and c. 12 very largely increased in bulk. The other chapters (25-67) are all new and contain much interesting matter.

Very soon after its publication, on March 1, 1551 (i.e. 1552 n.s.), the *Parlement de Paris* through its Council of twelve members (of whom Tiraqueau was one), cited the publisher and forbade him to expose for sale any more copies till the King's good pleasure should be known. This was in consequence of the censure of the Faculty of Theology, imposed notwithstanding the Privilege of the King. The ban was removed on the return of the King in triumph from Metz, April 18. In copies sold after that date, the reading of the text in the Prologue was changed from *tant riche et triumpphant royaulme de France* to *tant noble, tant antique, tant beau, tant florissant, tant riche royaulme de France*, and Tiraqueau instead of *Conseiller du roy Henri second* is styled *Conseiller du grand victorieux, triumpphant roy Henri*.

It seems likely that the *Fourth Book* having served its purpose and the *crise gallicane* having passed, the author was left to his fate to be dealt with by his enemies. At all events Rabelais resigned his two *cures* of St Martin of Meudon and St Christopher of Jambet on the same day (January 9, 1553), and tradition tells us that he died in April, 1553, and that he was buried in the cemetery of St Paul in the Rue des Jardins in Paris. No trace of his remains or any record has been discovered, but there seems no reason for discrediting this tradition.

It is to be observed that André Tiraqueau was one of the twelve members of the *Conseil du Parlement* and it does not appear that he raised his voice in defence of his old friend. He was more sensitive on the subject of plagiarisms from his books than many of the authors of that time, as he had suffered from the unwarranted publication of the first edition of his *de legibus conubialibus*. He had reason then to resent the wholesale borrowing from his third edition, which was published about the same time as the *Third Book* (1546), whether Rabelais gained his knowledge by seeing the book in MS. by the kindness of the author, or whether he was corrector of the press for Fezandat the publisher, or found other means to read it before it appeared, and utilize it in his own *Third Book*.

THE FIFTH BOOK

The *Fifth Book*, which was published posthumously in 1562 and 1564, has been much suspected and questioned in the matter of authenticity. The first sixteen chapters were published under the title of *L'Isle Sonante* in 1562 as Rabelais' posthumous work; an edition containing forty-seven chapters was published in 1564, and a sixteenth century manuscript of it containing forty-eight chapters was discovered in the *Bibliothèque nationale* in 1840. In all these editions there are differences in matter included or excluded; the result of much discussion seems to be the admission generally of the book as genuine work by Rabelais, with

the exclusion of certain parts as interpolated by the editor. It is also supposed that the parts were composed at different times and thrown aside by the author, or partially utilized in other portions of his work. The prologue especially has been questioned, as containing several pieces which appear in the prologue to the *Third Book* and in that of the *Fourth Book*. It has seemed to me possible that the parts composing the *Fifth Book* may have been written, not only before the *Fourth* but before the *Third Book*, and then laid aside, discovered after the author's death and put together so as to form a continuation of the voyage in the *Fourth Book*.

The considerations that have led me to this belief are the following. The last chapter of the *Pantagruel* undoubtedly promised some such voyage as that to Cathay by some westward passage, whether taking the route of Columbus or the North-West passage. This idea was interrupted by the *Gargantua*, which represented allegorically the law-suit between Antoine Rabelais, the author's father, and Gaucher Sainte-Marthe, the neighbouring proprietor of Lerné.

The notion of the voyage was resumed at the end of the *Third Book*, as the culminating attempt at solving by *divination* the problem of Panurge's intended marriage. There is a very large amount of matter borrowed from the *Hypnerotomachia* in the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth chapters and in the seven or eight final chapters in the *Fifth Book*, and also an appreciable number of passages from the same source in the *Gargantua*; but only two or three slight allusions to it in the *Fourth Book*; and nowhere else. This points

to the probability that the latter portion of the *Fifth Book* was written soon after the *Gargantua*, seeing the other references to it in the *Fourth* and other portions of the *Fifth Book* seem to be reminiscences rather than direct extracts. Thus I would suggest that the episode of Queen Entelechia (cc. 18-25) was written after the last part (cc. 32-fin.) and before the first part (cc. 1-15). This first part seems to me to have been written soon after the second visit to Rome (1535-6) because it gives so vivid an account—allegorical no doubt—of the Papal Court and surroundings, and moreover because the interval of 1540-2, the period when Rabelais was physician to Langey at Turin, would otherwise be entirely unoccupied¹ with literary work, and the period between 1535 and 1543 quite barren of any production of his pen, except for the revision of the two or three editions of his *Pantagruel* and *Gargantua*, which books he published definitively in 1542.

Also the books from which extracts are taken in the *Fifth Book* are those from which he derived help in his two first books, such as Budaeus in *Pandectas* and *de Asse*, and his translations from Plutarch (*de placitis philosophorum*), Gellius, Lucian, Athenaeus, Herodotus. From Marot, whose poems were published in 1538, there are some loans, and from *Le Disciple de Pantagruel*, which was published in the same year, and which is put to service in the *Fourth Book*.

Rabelais also mentions in the *Fifth Book* the "two

¹ There is, however, account to be taken of the *Strategemata* of W. du Bellay written by Rabelais in Latin and translated by Claude Massauu into French (Seb. Gryphius 1542).

little Cardinjays," who seem to suggest the two "Cardinalicules" of his third letter to the Bishop of Maillezais (1536). Panurge again is represented (c. XI. *fin.*) wearing a doublet and hose, not the brown toga and the spectacles in his cap which he adopted in III. 7, and which he wears thenceforth in the *Third* and *Fourth Books*.

In the *Fifth Book* are mentioned places along the French and Italian coasts, as well as places south of Montpellier, where Rabelais was mostly from September 27, 1537, till 1540. He was at Aigues-Mortes July 14-16, 1538 (*R.E.R.* III. 335); this place is spoken of in v. 36, as are the orange trees of San Remo in v. 34, and the wine of Taggia, a little N.E. of San Remo. In the *Third Book* he styles himself *Calloïer des Isles Hières*, i.e. Patriarch of the Sacred Islands, a punning indication of Hyères (*iepal*), which he mentions in III. 50 as *mes isles Hières*; thus making it almost certain that he visited these islands on a botanical excursion about 1538-9 before taking service with Guillaume du Bellay in 1540 at Turin.

The *Fifth Book* begins with a continuation of the voyage, but the account differs in the editions and the MS.; this makes it likely that it is due to the editor. An "Island" is then described, full of the sound of bells and of singing, and the travellers land at a small rocky islet, where Aedituus (i.e. the Sacristan) insists on their undergoing a four days' fast before they can be received on the Ringing Island. This is clearly intended for an allegorical description of Rome, as inhabited by birds, Popejay, Cardinjays, Priestjays, etc. with their various parti-coloured dresses. These

birds do nothing but live sumptuously and warble to the sound of bells. There is an allusion to the time when there were rival Popejays, evidently referring to one of the schisms; it seems most reasonable, by the indication of the time given, to refer it to 1328, when Lewis the Bavarian set up an anti-pope. Reference is also made to the places from which these birds come; they come, we are told, mostly from Breadlessday, being generally fugitives from justice, disappointments in love and life, the *rejectanea* of society; some of them moreover are Gormander birds. This refers to the Military Orders, Templars, Hospitallers, etc. A visit is made with much difficulty to see Popejay.

The Island of Tools is next visited, where trees are laden with Tools, which fall into handles that are ready awaiting them (cf. Galen *u. p.* xv. 4 (iv. 226)). This is derived from *Le Disciple de Pantagruel*, but is hall-marked as written by Rabelais, by the insertion of a passage from Plutarch and another from Pliny in support of such a portent. The Island of Sharping follows, in a day's journey. Gambling and the Invocation of Devils are the occupation of the inhabitants, and loss of life and property are the consequences. It was here that a flask of San Graal was shewn, and with greater pomp and ceremony than was the case with the *liber Pandectarum* of Justinian which were shewn in Florence, as we may learn from Budaeus in *Pandectas*, p. 47, one of the books employed by Rabelais in the *Pantagruel* and in the *Third Book*.

Another episode follows (cc. 11-15)—that of the Furred Law-cats (*Chats-fourrés* with a pun on *chaffourés*, found in *P.* 7), whose villainy and grasping propensities

are described. The curious provision of *pieds poudreux*, changed in English to "pie-powder," is enlarged upon, and a contrast is pointed out between the justice of other ancient courts and the enormities of this one. Grippeminaud, the Archduke of the Furred cats, propounds a riddle, which is solved by Panurge, and the company escape by paying a bag of gold for the Cats to scramble for. They then escape, but still have to pay fees to apparitors, etc., till Friar John loses patience and threatens them with his cutlass. Panurge opposes a motion of Friar John to put to sack these villains, and they rejoin Pantagruel, who has been left outside; he thereupon composes some elegies on the subject, recalling the practice of Gargantua under the tuition of Ponocrates (G. 24). Now in the seventeenth chapter they pass "Forth" (*nous passons outre*) as they had passed "Procuration" and "Condemnation." Here the word *oultre* is made to serve for a pun between its meaning *ultra* and *outrés*, blown out people, whose ridiculous customs are now described. By stuffing themselves and gormandizing they attain an excessive bulk; this is relieved from time to time by gashing their skin and fat, like trees, till at last they die in bursting with a tremendous report. One feature in this chapter deserves special notice. The heading of the chapter is "How we passed Forth, and how Panurge had like to have been killed there." There is nothing in the chapter itself to justify the second part of this heading; therefore it seems a fair inference that the writer intended to give some further matter which would have explained this, but that for some reason or other he did not; the good faith of the editor or

copyist is shewn in that he did not himself add to the chapter, but allowed it to stand as he found it.

Next for consideration comes the sixteenth chapter which stands practically alone, without connexion with any other part of the book. It is an account of the *Chambre des Comptes* at Paris, under the disguise of a large wine-press and certain smaller ones, which squeeze taxes and fines from every one. To me it appears to be a result of Rabelais' visit to Paris in 1541-2 in company with Guillaume du Bellay, at which time it is suggested by some commentators that he was made *maistre des requestes*. The sixteenth chapter is inserted in various places by different editors, some making it c. 7 and others c. 18. It is first placed as the last chapter of *L'Isle Sonante* and there only; but it seems to be work of Rabelais for which he had found no proper place.

On this journey to Paris and the return from it he must have seen to the definitive edition of *Pantagruel* and *Gargantua* (D) published by Juste at Lyons in 1542.

Chapters 18-25 form the episode of Queen Entelechia, which might stand quite by itself, but seems almost certainly to be written by Rabelais, as it possesses distinct marks of his style and is indebted for several of its features to the *Hypnerotomachia*, quite apart from the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth chapters which are palpably adapted from it, forming as they do the celebrated living chess-tournament. The speeches of Queen Entelechia are quite in the vein of those of Queen Eleutherillida of the *Hypnerotomachia*, and the tremendous banquet which is elaborately described there is here alluded to and wisely omitted.

Erasmus is put to considerable use in this part; indeed throughout the entire *Fifth Book* the sources which are so much in evidence in the *Gargantua* and the *Pantagruel* are those which are employed here.

An argument that is much pressed by the critics who deny the authenticity of the *Fifth Book* is the citation of Scaliger, Bigot, Chambrier and François Fleury as disputants in the question of *ἐντελέχεια*. This is undoubtedly a difficulty, especially in the case of Scaliger. He had written on *ἐντελέχεια* in the 307th of his *Exercitationes ad Hier. Cardanum*, which was not published till 1557, while Rabelais, who died in 1553, could not have seen this. It is quite possible however to look upon this passage as the interpolation of an editor, without surrendering the other part, which undoubtedly derives considerable support from the fact that Argyropylus, Theodore Gaza, Cicero and Budaeus are all spoken of in the first chapter of Politian's *Miscellanea* as supporting *ἐντελέχεια*; they are also quoted in this chapter (with the addition of Diogenes Laertius), while the writings of Politian had been published by Seb. Gryphius (1537-9) and are often a source for Rabelais. On the other hand many instances may be found in those times of books circulating in manuscript long before they were printed; indeed there is the pertinent instance in the *Third Book*, where considerable use is made of the third edition of Tiraqueau's *Leges Connubiales*.

Chapter 26 is developed from a passage in the *Hypnerotomachia* on Moving roads. This idea is noted by Pascal in his *Pensées*, where he speaks of *les rivières* as *les chemins qui marchent*; the suggestion

has been carried out in practice recently in Paris and elsewhere by means of slopes, etc., moved by machinery to take the place of staircases, etc. Rabelais proceeds to speak of frozen rivers serving as roads, and again of Greek mathematicians who had held that the earth was not stationary but revolved round the central fire or the sun. This is derived from Plutarch's *de placitis philosophorum* (translated by Budaeus into Latin) which was utilized in the *Pantagruel*. Another point of legal learning on the care for the embankments of the Nile and the punishment inflicted on persons who damaged them, is derived from the Pandects (XLVII. II, 10) through Budaeus in *Pandectas*.

The next three chapters (27-29) are very disputable, but with the exception of c. 28—a bad imitation of a novel of Desperiers—I am more inclined to admit their authenticity than formerly. The twenty-seventh chapter is weak indeed for Rabelais' work, but there are several points in it which make for his authorship. The musical puns are feeble, but in Rabelais' vein, and there are classical allusions from Ovid and Cicero, Martial and Horace, and imitations from *Le Disciple de Pantagruel*. Altogether it seems to be careless work, but of the right stamp. The twenty-ninth chapter, on the institution of Lent and the stimulating vegetable and fish diet ordered in its observance, with advocacy of it by physicians for their own profit, derived from Charles Etienne *de re hortensi* and from Erasmus, makes very strongly for its authenticity.

Chapters 30 and 31 are very interesting and scarcely admit of doubt. The idea of c. 30 which is on the Land of Satin, i.e. unreal imitation, is taken

from the *Hypnerotomachia* (c. 10 h. iv. r^o.) where it is presented literally. It refers to the representation of various birds and animals, more or less fabulous, embroidered on tapestry. Rabelais takes this up but represents it as "embroidery" of another kind, viz., travellers' tales, exaggeration, lying and false testimony. He brings to bear on this as illustrations a number of strange narrations in Aristotle, Pliny's *Natural History*, Caelius Rhodiginus' *Antiquae Lectiones*, Pierre Gilles, Erasmus and others. The next chapter carries this notion farther, and describes a curious being named Hearsay, who lives in the Land of Satin. This seems to be aimed at the marvellous accounts to be found in Herodotus, who specially asserts that he "puts down by hearsay (*ἀκοῇ*) what is told to him by others." A large number of other authors, ancient and modern, are given as writing with about as good a warrant. Some of the names of the moderns are very interesting, as being travellers and geographers from whom Rabelais derived instruction, and as being authors, some of whose treatises are collected in the *Novus Orbis* of Grynaeus. These are Cadamosto, Lodovico Romano, Pedro Alvarez, Marco Polo, Hayton the Armenian, Paulus Jovius, Peter Martyr. To these names must be added Thenauld the traveller, who is also quoted in the *Gargantua*. Cadamosto had furnished geographical information in *Pant.* c. 24 descriptive of the first voyage of Pantagruel to Utopia round the Cape of Good Hope.

Considerable resemblance is also to be remarked between these two chapters and iv. 62-4, especially in the great use of Pliny in them. It might be argued that

all the five chapters were written at the same time but that v. 30, 31 were laid aside as superseded by the others; in any case it is fair to consider them as work of the same pen and also as by the author who wrote the *Pantagruel* and the *Gargantua*.

We now come to the third section of this book, which is so greatly derived from the *Hypnerotomachia*. The first two chapters are introductory, bringing the mariners to Lychnopolis or Lantern-land, the harbour which is to be their stopping-place before coming to the Oracle. The description of Lychnopolis somewhat confuses La Rochelle, where was a celebrated light-house, with the Lantern-land, the idea of which is derived from Lucian, who, it will be remembered, is much employed in the *Pantagruel* and elsewhere.

Chapter 33* follows. It is to be found only in the MS. and may perhaps be looked upon as Rabelais' work, as to the first and the last part, but certainly not as to the middle, which consists of a number of crudely fanciful dishes made up of reminiscences of unpresentable words and phrases in divers other parts of Rabelais. The list of dances given is taken with slight alterations from *Le Disciple de Pantagruel* and so may pass muster. The plan of the chapter is simply a *menu* for Panurge's wedding breakfast made up from animals mentioned in the mythology of Ovid and Virgil, the unsavoury messes spoken of above, a feast, more or less oily, for the Lady Lanterns, the dances just spoken of, and the return from the dance.

The thirty-fourth chapter brings the travellers to the island in which was the Oracle of the Bottle. There, to reach the Oracle, they have to go through a vineyard

of vines of every kind, to pass under an arch where were drinking vessels, barrels, etc., of all sizes and shapes, hams, etc., etc., provocative of thirst, cups and tankards in every form. Then they pass through an Alley of Trellis-work of Vines in every variety, colour and shape, and they were commanded to cover their heads with Ivy-wreaths and put vine-leaves in their shoes (as directed in Plutarch), metaphorically signifying that they were not dominated by wine, whereas most women had the moon in their head and consequently were lunatic, thus differing from the one whom Brother John remembers in Revelation (xii. 1), who had the moon under her feet.

They now (c. 35) go down a staircase to the Temple decorated with frescoes, which the patriotic Pantagruel compares with those of the Painted Cellar in Chinon (or Caynon), which is proved to be the first city in the world, having been built by Cain, the first builder of cities. They are met by the Governor of the Holy Bottle with his guard of French Bottiglioni, and they are conducted (c. 36) down the mystic tetradic (Pythagorean) steps, as though they were going into the cavern of Trophonius. Panurge is seized with a sudden fright, but is reassured by the valiant Brother John, who makes an important geographical allusion to the stone-covered tract of *Fossa Mariana* (Aigues-Mortes). Rabelais had been present here (July 14-16, 1538) at the meeting of Francis I and Charles V, and probably derived his knowledge of this region from his own observation, as well as from the note of Pomponius Mela, which he here partly translates. At the bottom of the steps they come upon a Doric Portal of the Temple (c. 37)

when the gates open of themselves. On the front of the Portal was inscribed in Greek "In Wine is Truth," and the opening of the gates is described with much detail, all translated from the *Hypnerotomachia*. The pavement of the Temple is described in the next chapter (38) in three or four passages from the same source. The walls and vault of the Temple were in mosaic work descriptive of the battle and victory of Bacchus over the Indians, but the description of this in cc. 39, 40 is taken from the *Dionysus* of Lucian eked out by extracts from various sources, such as Ovid, Cornelius Agrippa, Pliny, Herodotus, Plutarch. Chapter 41 is taken up with a wonderful lamp derived from the *Hypnerotomachia* (c. 17), Pliny and Pausanias, while the long forty-second chapter is devoted to an account of a fantastic Fountain, the description of which is translated from the twenty-second and twenty-third chapters, helped out by shorter extracts from many other parts of the same book, so that the chapter itself is a veritable mosaic of architectural details, variegated marbles, precious stones and statues in different metals; Pliny, Ovid, Budaeus and Erasmus supply a few passages here and there. Goblets are now brought (c. 43), so that the travellers may drink of the pure water of this fountain, the property of which is so wonderful that it represents to each drinker the flavour of any wine that he may choose to think of, like the Manna in the wilderness which seemed to the Israelites to taste of whatsoever food they longed for (*Wisdom* xvi. 20, 21). Chapter 44 represents the equipment of Panurge in a fantastic garb, the reading of Etruscan rituals and an extraordinary number of rites and

ceremonies, all derived from Colonna's book. There is also an account of a circular chapel which furnishes its own light, and is constructed in true architectural proportions. In this chapel was a heptagonal fountain of pure water, in which was partly immersed the Holy Bottle of pure Crystal in an oval wicker case. Panurge is now (c. 45) instructed to kiss the brink of the fountain, dance round it, sing a vintage-song and listen. The Priestess threw something into the Fountain and the word TRINC was then heard. This was declared to be the most perfect answer that had ever been given (c. 46). Panurge has then to drink from a silver vessel in the shape of a Breviary a gloss or commentary on the word "Drink," which is declared to be "panomphaean" or intelligible to all nations and necessary to everybody, for "in Wine is Truth." After this draught Panurge becomes inspired and spouts doggerel, and in the next chapter (47) is followed by Brother John and they rime in antiphone. The forty-eighth and last chapter is taken up with farewells to the Priestess, who discourses philosophically on the treasures of wealth and wisdom which are hidden in the earth; she then furnishes them with a favourable wind, as Aeolus did to Ulysses, and they pass through a beautifully pleasant and fertile country—the description is borrowed from the *Hypnerotomachia*—and so they return home.

RABELAIS' LANGUAGE AND STYLE

The decadence of the pure Latinity observable in the writers of the so-called Silver age, as instanced in Juvenal, Persius, Tacitus and others, and its further decline in Ausonius, Sidonius Apollinaris, Apuleius, Marcianus Capella and others of the fourth and fifth centuries is a matter of common knowledge. That it retained its purity as much as it did was due to the schools of rhetoric, among which were celebrated those of Lyons, Bordeaux, and Madaura in Africa, as well as those in Spain.

The policy pursued by the Romans of sending out colonies of veterans to garrison their distant conquests had some effect in propagating the Latin language, but as the soldiers used in defence of the Imperial conquests were to a great extent recruited from the Germans and barbarians on the Rhine and in Thrace, the influence from this source for preserving Latin was not great.

Latin was also widely spread by the system of Roman law, as administered by the praetors, especially after it had been codified by Justinian and his chancellor Tribonianus (529-34 A.D.). But the glosses used to explain the matter and make clear the ambiguities of the laws made for the corruption of the language; they were much employed later in the eleventh century and afterwards by the jurists, who wrote in a debased style and cared for nothing but a sound exposition that would be intelligible to their readers, who welcomed

the explanation of the professional lawyers. In time the glosses were accepted and read in preference to the laws themselves.

Again the Vulgate which was used in the Roman Church services, even in St Jerome's edition did much to debase the purity of the language. The translation of the Bible is there given in a Latin so simple as to suggest the efforts of a modern school-boy in writing Latin; this is from a conscientious determination to render the Hebrew original with exactness. Many words also are used in it which had crept into the language from barbarous sources, and others which had become distorted from their former usage. (One example of this may suffice: "A little child shall lead them" (Isaiah xi. 6), *puer parvulus minabit eos*. Here the active *minabit* governing the accusative *eos* has grown from the deponent *minabitur*, which governs the dative. From the word *minare* is derived the French *mener*.)

The study of Aristotle, which was introduced through the Arabic philosophers and was taken up by Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, did much to debase Latinity. For as Aristotle was known in a Latin translation which had come from the Arabic through the Syrian from the original Greek, many errors had naturally resulted. But the scrupulous examination of theological definitions by means of Aristotelian logic had introduced in Latin translations a number of philosophical terms such as *entitas*, *quidditas*, *qualitas*, etc., while Latin constructions had been simplified so as to obtain precision at the expense of elegance of expression. Good examples of this kind

of Latin may be noted in the vigorous sentences and scholastic style of Dante's Latin treatises and letters. This was the Latin in use among the learned in the various European countries, while the language of the common people was made up of the native speech with a large admixture of the Latin element; and it was from Latin of this kind that the Romance languages were formed, with differences produced by varieties of climate, temperament, natural aptitudes, etc., in the different countries.

French was the eldest of these languages, and it was French of this kind that formed the language of the troubadours in their *chansons de gestes*, which were translated in the fourteenth century into stories told in a more modern, but still very masculine prose; in that form the knights and ladies delighted to read the exploits of King Arthur and the knights of his round table, or those of Charlemagne and his peers, derived from the Latin Chronicle of Turpin, full of all manner of fabulous exploits in various countries, often founded on the slenderest basis of historical fact. The source of the main story is the entrance of Charles into Spain and his journey to Compostella, and afterwards, on his return, the destruction by the Basques of his rear-guard under his nephew Roland, told in the famous *Chanson de Roland*. This story was amplified in the most fantastic way by accounts of divers fictitious expeditions, such as a visit to King Hugh of Constantinople and others. Considerable traces of these stories and allusions to other fables may be found frequently in the earlier books of Rabelais.

The prose in which these narratives are told is often

interlarded with words and phrases taken more directly from the Latin, and it is this form of expression that Rabelais delights in employing; while occasionally he himself forms words from the Latin or Greek, which diversify his writing, sometimes to the point of grotesqueness, though it diminishes nothing from its vigour. From the old romances, such as *Fierabras*, *Huon de Bordeaux*, *Perceforest*, *Mabrian*, *Melusine* and many others, from *le Roman de la Rose*, *les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, and also from the Chroniclers *Froissart* and *Monstrelet*, he derives words such as *occir*, *occision*, *internition*, *tollir*, *ferir*, *felonnement*, *greigneur*, *mire*, *gueule bayée*, *ruer jus*, *metes*, *à tout* (= avec), etc.

The mysteries and morality-plays also formed a source of amusement and instruction at this time. The language in which they were written, though often grotesque, was occasionally elevated, and therefore borrowed more from the court-language of the learned and approached nearer to the Latin. Many of the sermons too appealed in their quaintness to the feelings and understanding of the people to whom they were addressed, while they were occasionally interspersed with phrases from the Vulgate, as well as homely sentences in the Latin of the preacher, sometimes rendered into French for the benefit of the more unlearned. In Rabelais' time and just before it, were three celebrated preachers of this type, Michel Menot, Olivier Maillard and Jean Bourgeois. He speaks of the last two in his books. In the *Gesta Romanorum* may be seen the style of stories that were woven into sermons in the Middle Ages; histories of the Roman

emperors, sometimes distorted out of all recognition, while appended to each of them is a "Moralisation," giving a religious explanation of the story. In his list of books of education of the old school Rabelais includes a book of sermons entitled *Dormi securè* (sleep soundly) composed by a Carmelite friar, named Richard de Maidstone († 1396), intended to furnish stories and moralisations to preachers, so as to enable them to sleep undisturbedly while they are in possession of such a stock of matter for their sermons. It may be noted that two of Rabelais' best stories (III. 9. 34) are derived from sermon-books.

Another element in his writings is the influence (especially in the *Fourth Book*, after two years residence in Rome) of the Italianizing spirit that prevailed in the court of Catharine de' Medici, although it was reprobated by some French writers. His residence at Toulouse gave him a few Gascon words and phrases, while later on at Metz he picked up a German word or two.

It may be noticed, moreover, that although at this time it was almost a fashion for scholars like Erasmus, Budaeus, Vives and others to compose *Institutiones Principis Christiani*, etc., following no doubt the example of Xenophon in his *Cyropaedia*, over and above these Rabelais found models in the old romances, in which the early years of a future hero played no inconsiderable part. He seems certainly to have borrowed an episode or two from *les enfances de Roland*, and to have been influenced by it, like Baldus, the hero of Merlin Coccai's macaronics,

Qui quater Orlandi *puerilia tempora* legit.

While he was in the cloister at Fontenay-le-Comte Rabelais seems to have formed his style, perhaps unconsciously, on the easy flowing periods of Herodotus, full as they are of conversations, as well as on the cynicism of Lucian, from whom he borrows freely. From Tiraqueau¹ we learn that he translated the first book of Herodotus, traces of whose writings may be found in the military operations of the *Gargantua*, as well as several direct quotations in the *Fourth Book*. Of course other classical writers influenced him, Plato—his Aldine copy (1513) still exists—the *Odyssey*, which appealed to his love of travel and of the marvellous, and Hippocrates and Galen, whom he often quotes and more often follows. Rabelais' folio copy of Galen (Aldus 1525) in six volumes is now in the University Library of Sheffield. _ Although his reading of Cicero lay almost entirely in the *Moral Essays* (Gryph. 1532) and the *de Divinatione* in the *Third Book*, and slightly in the *de Oratore* (Gryph. 1533), he could scarcely help being affected to some extent by the "Ciceronianism" of the printer Dolet and other enthusiasts, whose excesses Erasmus vainly tried to check by his sensible dialogue *Ciceronianus*, 1528. This drew down upon him angry diatribes of J. C. Scaliger, to which Rabelais alludes in his letter to Erasmus, so long supposed to be addressed to an unknown Bernard Salignac. The imitation of Cicero by Rabelais may be seen in the protest of Grandgousier and in the harangues of Gallet and Gargantua in the *Gargantua*.

It may easily be imagined that the Comedies of

¹ *Legg. connub.* fol. 74 v^o. (ed. 2^a, 1524), *R.E.R.* ix. 73.

Plautus would be to the taste of Rabelais. He refers to him twice in the *Gargantua* and in the *Third Book*; in the *Fifth Book* the citation *totidem hostes quot servi* is wrongly assigned to him, but the strangely compounded words in IV. 15 must surely be invented in imitation of Plautine combinations, *Pyrgopolinices* and others, unless they are to be considered as Aristophanic compounds. Gryphius published an edition of twenty plays of Plautus in 1535.

In the borrowings from the scholars Budé, Erasmus, Tiraqueau and Caelius Rhodiginus, it is not only the faculty of assimilation and adaptation that is remarkable, but the power of transmutation and amplification in the same strain. In the passages taken from Erasmus perhaps the changes are not so great (for instance in the first paragraphs of the *Gargantua* Prologue, adapted from the *Sileni Alcibiadis* of the *Adagia*, III. 3. 1) as in the Prologue to the *Third Book*, where Budé's translation and adaptation of Lucian on Diogenes and his Cask is itself adapted and amplified with marvellous dramatic skill, or again in III. 37 where Tiraqueau's bald statement of the decision of a Paris fool in accordance with a gloss on a papal rescript in the *Decretals*, is transmuted into the highly graphic story of Seigny John giving his award in the dispute of the Cook and the Porter. In these cases and many more, whatever is borrowed is transformed and, if necessary, amplified in a manner that is truly wonderful; the mere matter and substratum are retained, but the presentation is so graphic and the dramatic *ethos* of the speakers so vividly maintained that the original story is almost lost and the pure Rabelais stands out.

RABELAIS ON RELIGION

That Rabelais was inspired by genuine religious feeling can hardly be doubted by any one who reads attentively the prefaces to his Almanacks for 1533 and 1535; in the first he protests strongly against the curiosity of mortals who would pry into the hidden secrets and purposes of the Almighty; the fragment concludes with a quotation from Proverbs xxv. 27 (Vulg.) "Whoso prieth out His Majesty shall be crushed thereby." This is curiously supported by Panurge's exclamation in III. 30, where he resents the conditional "if it please God," as being an invitation to search out the fore-knowledge of the Deity. "You refer me to God's privy council," he cries in an expression that is comically echoed in Butler's *Hudibras*, where so much of Rabelais is repeated:

Others still gape t'anticipate
The cabinet designs of Fate,
Apply to wizards to foresee
What shall and what shall never be.

Hud. II. 3. 23.

In the Almanack for 1535 Rabelais adduces an argument for the immortality of the soul from the impossibility of satisfying man's desire for knowledge in this life. This desire being implanted by nature, which gives nothing in vain, must needs find satisfaction, otherwise the desire would be nugatory. As it does not find satisfaction in this life there *must* be another life. Tunc satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua, Ps. xvi. 15.

Again at the end of the Prologue to the *Fourth Book*, after an amusing tirade against immoderate desires, exemplified so instructively by his version of the fable of Mercury and the Woodman, he advises his patients to restrict their desires to wishes for health, and imagining them to reply that "to the Almighty a million of gold is as little as an obol," he administers the rebuke: "By whom were you taught to discuss and talk in this way of the power and predestination of God? Hush! Humble yourselves before His sacred presence and recognize your own shortcomings."

In the *Gargantua*, c. 38, he scoffs lightly at the "application" of the 124th Psalm by the pilgrims who had escaped being swallowed by Gargantua in a salad, and in the fortieth chapter he inveighs seriously against the idle monks who do nothing but devour the offerings collected from the workers of the world, and "mumble through their Legends and Psalms without understanding them, and count Paternosters and Ave Marias without thinking of them or their meaning." This he calls "a mocking of God and not Prayer; whereas all true Christians pray to God and the Spirit prayeth and intercedeth for them and God receiveth them into favour." In this the monks are contrasted with the resolute and active Brother John, who works "and defends the oppressed, comforts the afflicted and guards the Abbey-close."

In c. 45 he represents Grandgousier venting righteous indignation against the preachers who affirm that diseases are sent by various saints to plague men for their sins, as Homer represents Apollo plaguing the Greeks at the request of the priest Chryses. Here

Rabelais is probably following Hippocrates (on *Epilepsy* c. 1), who protests strongly against the gods being made responsible for diseases. Grandgousier also warns the pilgrims against the idle and unprofitable pilgrimages which were then so much in vogue, bidding them rather follow the precepts of St Paul to care for their families and to labour each one in his vocation. Also in iv. 23 he insists that prayer ought to be accompanied by our own efforts; we ought to be fellow-workers with God (1 Cor. iii. 9).

Chapter 46 discourses against wars and invasions of neighbouring territories as opposed to the teaching of the Gospel, by which we are enjoined each to administer his own possessions and not to invade others. Men are taught not to seek their own advantage to the detriment of the public good, and to avoid war by every possible means of conciliation. Later in the Prologue to the *Third Book* he is full of praise of the glory and beauty of war—probably in opposition to Erasmus (*Dulce bellum inexpertis*, *Adag.* iv. 1. 1)—but in this Rabelais is speaking of the defensive war of France in 1544, when he patriotically prophesies an enlargement of her dominions.

In the chapters on the Abbey of Thelema willing obedience and mutual consideration are insisted on, as well as rational pursuits in education mental and physical, combined with recreation; this is instead of cramping regulations which stunt the development of cheerful compliance with reasonable discipline.

On the other side every opportunity is taken to discredit monasteries and nunneries and their inmates. They are looked upon as so many retreats for cowardly

persons who shirk their duties in this world in order to live in the idleness of routine and enjoy uninterrupted gluttony and frivolity and oftentimes debauchery and immorality. The inmates are mostly *rejectanea* and offscourings, the useless or deformed scions of noble families, the failures, ne'er-do-weels and criminals of the world, who enjoy a careless life freed from necessary and reasonable labour. How opposed is this system to that of the Vestal Virgins, who were chosen from the best families in Rome and carefully scrutinized to see that they should be without the smallest spot or blemish of body or mind! (G. 52, iv. 46. 58, v. 4).

These were no new charges. Indeed Rabelais borrows the indictment and often its very words from Cornelius Agrippa *de vanitate scientiarum*, c. 62. Clément Marot (*chants divers*, II.) brings similar accusations; this system of refuges appears to have furnished commonplaces for invectives. See for instance Tacitus, *Ann.* III. 60, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, VI. 46 (on the *Mons Sacer*), Plutarch, *de Superstitione*, 166 E. Many examples may be found in the Italian *Novelle*, in the *Cent Nouvelles nouvelles* and the *Heptameron*. The "Cave of Adullam" naturally suggests itself.

But it was above all the Mendicants whom he satirized with all his weapons; against them were levelled violent terms of abuse and injurious names. He looked upon them, as he had reason to do, as the ignorant, debauched, frivolous hinderers of learning. Such indeed he had found them at Fontenay-le-Comte, and when once he was enlisted on the side of the Humanists by Pierre Amy and Guillaume Budé, he could feel towards them nothing but antipathy. For

the Benedictines, who had shewn themselves for ten centuries the fosterers of learning and the patrons of industry and hospitality, he entertained kindly feelings, and we cannot forget that Brother John, the resolute, helpful, ever-ready Brother John, ignorant of everything but his breviary, but handy and resourceful in every difficulty, was a Benedictine and a sturdy maintainer of the virtues of the frock and cowl.

His attitude towards the Roman Church, in which he was born and in which he had belonged to one of the strictest orders, resembled that of Erasmus. He could not be blind to the serious charges to which that Church had been exposed by the simony and nepotism of the Popes and by the scandals of pluralism. The vicious and unclerical lives of many of the higher clergy, and of the Popes at the head of them, were a grave offence, and the building of St Peter's, which required extraordinary outlays, only to be met by special collections of pardon-money and exactions, *annates*, indulgences and tithes gathered for pretended crusades, caused deep searchings of heart in many devout Romanists, even before the Lutheran revolt. In France many persons of high birth and station were well-affected to what were called the new doctrines, for instance, Margaret, Queen of Navarre, sister of Francis I, and Renée, duchess of Ferrara, his sister-in-law, extended their protection to many men of learning and culture who were suspected of heretical leanings. Renée was treated harshly by her husband on this account (*Epp. Rom.* i. § 3), and Noel Beda, the Sorbonnist doctor, had the assurance to attempt charges against Margaret, which Francis, who was

tenderly attached to his sister, strongly resented, so much so that he had the accuser imprisoned.

Rabelais was naturally alive to all this and, living in Lyons, could scarcely help sympathizing with the movement; for it ran to a great extent in parallel lines with the Humanism which was one of the guiding principles and objects of his life; indeed these lines often were thought so much to converge that persons of humanistic tastes were suspected of the Lutheran taint. This is evidenced in Budé's second letter to Rabelais, noting that he was suspected and badly treated by the Fontenay brothers on account of the recently published Commentaries of Erasmus on St Paul's epistles; again we see in iv. 46 the junior Devil attributing to the study of St Paul the difficulty experienced in providing souls of students for Lucifer's breakfast.

It seems that both Erasmus and Rabelais felt antipathy to the established religion much more on account of the persistent ignorance of the monks and the persecutions designed for the suppression of the revived learning than because of doctrinal differences, though these were not ignored by them. But men who deliberately quenched the sacred torch of literature for themselves and for others incurred the contempt and hostility of these pioneers of learning and civilization.

In a few places a cautious protest is ventured against the merciless persecutions that were being directed against heresy or the suspicion of it, but such protests were necessarily more or less veiled. Two cases may be cited—one in III. 29, where the "whole

and sole occupation of the good Theologians" is said to be "in extirpating Errors and Heresies by deeds, by words, by writings, and in planting deep in the hearts of men the true and lively Catholic Faith." Another very dexterous instance is in III. 51, where "we have heard others, at the moment when Atropos was cutting ✓ the thread of their life, complaining that Pantagruel held them by the throat; but it was not Pantagruel a bit; it was Pantagruelion (hemp) serving them for a collar....I swear that the noble Pantagruel never took any one by the throat, unless it were those who were negligent in preventing the coming Thirst." And ¶ when we find that occasionally in these books *par ma soif* is substituted for *par ma foi* it is permissible to suspect covert allusions.

HIS RELATION TO BIBLICAL STUDIES

As might be expected, Rabelais in the cloister had made an intimate acquaintance with the service-books, the Breviary and the Missal, which were necessary for every priest, monk and friar; but he shews that he had done more than that; for although most of his biblical quotations and allusions may be traced to the Breviary or the Missal—indeed Brother John scarcely knew anything beyond his *matière de Bréviaire*—Rabelais had characteristically gone beyond this and

read his Vulgate in the light of the explanations of Nicholas de Lyra (1270-1340), the converted Jew, whose commentary was in vogue till the Reformation times, and the Pauline Epistles with the commentary of Erasmus, as we learn from the second letter from Budaeus. Indeed he seems to have learned something of the Hebrew text and the Massoretic interpretation, as well as of the Chaldaic version or Targum, which is commended to Pantagruel by his father (*P.* 8), and referred to in the preface to his Almanack of 1533 in "Tibi *silentium* Deus in Sion" (Psalm lxiv. 1), though this may have been derived from Politian, *Miscell.* 83.

Notwithstanding this, M. Plattard does well to point out that Rabelais' acquaintance with the Scriptures did not extend beyond that of an ordinary well-instructed Churchman. The impropriety or profanity in his quotations was less thought of than it is in our own times. It could easily be paralleled from sermons of contemporary preachers. This appears pretty clearly from an examination of the scriptural passages which were altered in the *Pantagruel* and the *Gargantua*, to disarm the susceptibilities of the Theological Faculty. The propositions that were looked upon as "scandalous, heretical and offensive to pious ears," were (1) offences against Mariolatry and worship of the saints. Rabelais changed "une liasse d'oignons liée de trois cents Ave Mariatz" into "trois cents naveaulx" (*P.* 12) in 1542. In *G.* 6 he omitted an allusion to St Margaret and in *G.* 17 he omitted a long list of adjurations of numerous saints of different nationalities. (2) He makes no omission of the few gibes at the pardoners, etc. (3) On the translation

and interpretation of the Scriptures, on which the theologians were very touchy, he makes one alteration. In *P.* 34 he had written (A) "Ce sont beaux textes d'évangiles en françois"; this is changed in 1542 (D) to "ce sont belles besoignes." (4) He had made fun of the professors of theology, and had spoken irreverently of "the Sorbonne" and "theologians." In every case these words are altered into *sophiste* and *sophistiquement*, etc. He also changes *frater de Cornibus* into *frater Lubinus*, so as not to attack, even in fun, a well-known Franciscan preacher. Though these were the real grievances with the Sorbonne, it was easy for the theologians to attack the Rabelaisian books on the score of coarseness and as being *contra bonos mores*. In point of fact his sympathies were clearly on the side of the early Reformers, and this was the true cause of the hostility of the Sorbonne.

RABELAIS AS LEGIST

As a legist Rabelais shews traces of the different influences to which he had been subjected in the very varied experiences of his life. In the cloister at Fontenay-le-Comte from 1511 till 1524, when he was released by the indult of Clement VII, it was his duty to acquaint himself with the Canon Law—the Decretum of Gratian and the Decretals of Gregory IX and other Pontiffs—by which he and his cloister were governed,

and no doubt he read diligently Budé's *Commentary on 24 Books of the Pandects* (or Digest) and other parts of Roman Law, for in his second letter to Rabelais Budé credits him with considerable knowledge of law. In his residence at Ligugé under the protection of his enlightened friend Geoffroi d'Estissac, the Bishop of Maillezais, he was evidently in constant communication with the distinguished lawyers and scholars, André Tiraqueau, Amaury Bouchard and Jean Bouchet, as we may gather from his Letters prefixed to the works he dedicated to them and from his rhymed letter to Bouchet and Bouchet's response. It may also be presumed that he studied law at Poitiers about this time (1524-5) from the record of his travels that he gives in *P.* 5—it is generally accepted that Pantagruel's travels roughly describe the writer's own journeyings—and in *III.* 41, where he is represented by Judge Bridle-goose. At Bourges also he studied law, perhaps under Alciati, and attained considerable proficiency, but his bent was undoubtedly towards medicine and natural science, as may be seen in the itinerary he attributes to Pantagruel in *P.* 5, as well as in his *Supplicatio pro Apostasia* addressed to Paul III in January 1536, where he declares: "the aforesaid Petitioner departing from the said Church [Maillezais] without leave of his Superior, having laid aside the regular habit and taken that of secular priest, had long time gone abroad through the world, and during that time devoted himself diligently to the faculty of Medicine and taken in it the degrees required for that purpose."

But notwithstanding the fact that Rabelais definitely took up the study of medicine he did not lose sight of

the study of law; but he was more inclined to adopt the standpoint of the humanists Valla, Politian, Budaeus, Erasmus and others, who decried the barbarous Latinity and the absurdity of the glosses of Accursius Bartolus, Baldus, etc., in the civil law and those of Giovanni Andreae, Durand, Panormitanus, Barbatia in the canon law. Rabelais was more disposed to treat law on its scientific and philosophical side than to regard it as a mere bundle of case-law reinforced and illustrated by moral maxims from classical authors, the ethical poetry of the first four or five centuries and the rhyming hexameters of grammarians and monkish writers.

Consequently we have in the *Pantagruel*, cc. 11-13, a tissue of incoherence, with an allusion here and there to contemporary events, probably designed to set his readers guessing at the meaning of what was intentionally without meaning, and to hold up to ridicule such unintelligible pleadings.

In the *Third Book* at the trial of Judge Bridlegoose (cc. 39-44) we find the old Judge very exact and punctilious in recounting the forms of procedure in their due order of summoning, the preparation of the papers for the plaintiff and the defendant and the examination of the testimony for both sides, the shifts and evasions of the litigants (these had been alluded to in the *Pantagruel* under the head of *cautelae*) and the judgement and its execution. Most of his knowledge on these points is derived from the *Forensia*, or Practice of the Courts, of Budaeus (cf. *R.E.R.* xi. 31-9). The judge then explains that after having several times examined these papers he gives his decision according

to a throw of the dice. This is taken exception to by the judge presiding at the trial and defended most ingeniously by the old Judge with a parade of legal learning that is quite bewildering. No statement of the most trivial kind is put forward without the support of five or six quotations from the Digest, the Code or the Decretum and Decretals to back it, generally eked out by some hexameter or pentameter, which was the form of many of the glosses, to give point to the contention. It is true that in the special case of Judge Bridlegoose, which furnishes the greatest display of legal learning in Rabelais, the sympathies of the reader are enlisted on the side of the humorous old Judge and the shrewd common sense and worldly wisdom which he displays: but for all that the summary of the affair in the chapter succeeding the account of the trial (III. 44) is very severe, even on the Pandects and their compiler Tribonianus, when it is declared that cases may as well be decided by a throw of the dice as by the ordinances of laws got together in shreds and patches as were the laws of Justinian. The tenor of this agrees perfectly with what Pantagrue declares in *P. 10* in depreciation of the legists and canonists, while in *P. 8* he is required by his father Gargantua to acquaint himself with the admirable *texts* of the laws and to compare them with philosophy; meaning, no doubt, that law should be studied in its broad principles of equity rather than in minute technicalities, which are liable to perversion by the chicanery of case-lawyers. All this is in keeping with the breadth of view that Rabelais exhibits on every subject that he sets before us.

In the *Fourth Book*, cc. 48-53, instigated by Cardinals du Bellay and Châtillon, Rabelais ventures to attack the Roman Church on a vulnerable side, which would render it obnoxious to French policy, viz., on the exactions authorized by the Decretals in the form of *annates* and other dues payable to the Roman Church. He asserts that by the aurifluous energy of certain of the Decretals 400,000 ducats and more are drawn yearly from France to Rome. This is the charge that would bear heavily against Rome; the extravagant laudation of the Decretals put into the mouth of Homenaz, the Roman bishop, is the sheerest mockery.

In the *Fifth Book*, cc. 11-14, there is only a general invective against the exactions and corruption of the law-courts; the main charge is that the laws resemble spiders' webs, through which the big malefactor wasps break their way, while the tiny gnats and moths are held fast in the meshes. It is the execution rather than the sentence of the laws that is here reprobated. An instance of the evasion and defiance of the execution is already to be found in iv. 12-15, where the Lord of Basché has the Catchpoles beaten within an inch of their lives by his servants, under pretence of celebrating a wedding, in which one of the ceremonies consisted of giving slight fisticuffs as a memorial.

ON SCENIC REPRESENTATIONS, ETC.

Rabelais seems to have resembled the *Bourgeois de Paris*, who has given us in his journal so minute and detailed an account of the events that were to be witnessed during a long part of the reign of Francis I, that we are often reminded of the delightful gossip of Samuel Pepys in his Diary (1659-69). The allusions to mystery-plays and other scenic representations, especially the songs, mountebank tricks and farces presented by Jehan de l'Espine du Pontalletz, better known as Songecreux, are particularly interesting. He is mentioned under the name of Pontalais in the Dizain in honour of Rabelais prefixed to the *Pantagruel* in later editions of P. de Tours and in the edition of Four Books published in 1553. In the *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* we are told that he was imprisoned in 1516 together with two other *joueurs de farce* for saying that *Mère Sotte* (i.e. Louise de Savoye) governed France. Rabelais speaks of him in *Pant.*, c. 7, as representing in a *ballade*, that is in a poem accompanied by dancing, a *Prognostication*. The practice of presenting songs with a dancing accompaniment was very common in France; a good instance may be seen at once in the list of songs given with dancing in the *Fifth Book*, c. 33* (whether it was written by Rabelais or not), and the practice in antiquity is proved (if proof were necessary) by a line in Ovid, *Trist.* II. 1. 519, "Et mea sunt populo saltata poemata saepe." In *Garg.*, c. 20, Songecreux is again alluded to as provoking laughter in his audience to an extraordinary degree. There survive of this farceur *Les*

contredictz de Songe Creux and *Pronostication de maistre Albert Songe Creux* (A.P.F. XII. 168-92). Again in *Garg.*, c. 17, the people of Paris are taunted with silliness to such an extent as to delight in the tricks of a mountebank or a fiddler more than in the preaching of the Gospel. Another kind of entertainment alluded to is the *Asnerie* (or *Asinaria*) of Plautus in III. 38, but an oblique reference is intended to the *Feste des Asnes*, by which was represented at Beauvais and other places the flight into Egypt, when an ass with a young woman on it was led up to the altar and the priest instead of saying *Ite missa est* sang three times *hihan* or *inian*, imitating the braying of an ass. This exclamation is put into the mouth of Homenaz, the bishop of the Papimanes, in IV. 52.

In III. 38 Rabelais, in pointing out that the *Quirinalia* in ancient Rome was known as the *Stultorum festa*, practically identifies it (for his present purpose) with the *Feste des Folz* in France. The *Feste des Folz*, *des Diacres*, *des Innocents* or *de l'Asne* were of the same nature in France, according to the period or locality.—They were definitely suppressed in 1547.—Bishops were elected and sometimes a Pope, who, clad in pontifical vestments, was paraded through the streets and brought into the choir of the churches with all kinds of disorderly revelry and songs, and games of cards and dice. Perhaps an allusion to this may be traced in *le maulgouvert* (the Lord of Misrule), *de Louzefougerouse* or Loge-Fougerouse, a town near La Châtaigneraie (Vendée) (cf. *R.E.R.* II. 164). Another allusion to this may be found in the *Anciennes poésies françaises*, vol. III. p. 19: "L'abbé de Maugouverne aussi." Scott in his *Abbot*,

chap. 14, describes a scene of this kind and appends an instructive note (Note E) on the subject. Cf. also Frazer, *G.B.*³, *The Scapegoat*, p. 313.

Rabelais also mentions the *basauchiens* (*Garg.* 54), the clerks of the Bazoche (*Basilica*), i.e., the *Palais de Justice*, or Law-court in Paris. They were a very old Guild (1302) and appointed their own King, Chancellor, etc. They played at an early period *farces*, *soties* and *moralités*, but they and the *Enfants Sans-souci* were looked upon as amateurs, as distinguished from the *Jongleurs* and the *Confrairies de la Passion*. He also mentions the Bazoche again in III. 21 and IV. 32 but in a manner that has little or no bearing on the present subject.

He was evidently interested in representations of the Passion, for we find several allusions to such pieces. In III. 3 *La passion de Saulmur* is spoken of as a very grand and solemn function. It is probably the Mystery written by Jean Michel de Pierrevive and given at Angers during four days from August 12, 1486; played again at Saumur in July, 1534. On the other hand he twice mentions the Passion at Doué as very confused and disorderly. Twice also he speaks of the Passion played at St Maixent in Poitou (III. 27, IV. 13), but on both occasions considerable confusion resulted from causes detailed, and they may be considered as very disorderly.

The phraseology of Rabelais is full of allusions to scenic representations, most, if not all, of which have been got together in *R.E.R.* VIII. 1-68 (*Rabelais et le Théâtre*). We find him speaking of political and other events as *tragicomedies*; the end of Guillaume du Bellay

is spoken of as *la fin et catastrophe de la comoedie* (*Fabulae catastrophe*, Erasm. *Adag.* i. 2. 36). He gives a spirited account in iii. 34 of the moral comedy of the man who married a dumb wife, played at Montpellier by F. Rabelais and other medical students. It has been supposed by some that Rabelais himself composed it. This is quite possible, the leading ideas in it being borrowed from Terence, *Andria*, 463 "Utinam aut hic surdus aut haec muta facta sit," and Horace, *Sat.* ii. 3. 30 "ut lethargicus hic cum fit pugil et medicum urget," while the severing of the string of the tongue is from St Mark vii. 35 "Solutum est vinculum linguae ejus et loquebatur recte," and the very word ἀγκυλό-γλωσσον occurs in Manardi *Epistolae Med.* vii. 3, which were edited by Rabelais. The description of the *Sciomachia* or sham-fight in Rome in 1549 testifies clearly enough to his delight in all manner of theatrical display.

Allusions abound to the *diableries* or representations of the inhabitants of the lower world, which survived from the mystery and morality plays. Lucifer, Mahoun, Proserpine, Megaera, Allecto, Ashtaroth, etc., meet us as well as Demogorgon, probably derived from Ravisius Textor, who speaks of him as one of the *Di superni, repertus in visceribus terrae*.

A list of places where *diableries* were represented is put in Villon's mouth in iv. 13—Saumur, Doué, Montmorillon, Langès, St Espain, Angers and Poitiers, places in Touraine, Anjou and Poitou—shewing the gusto Rabelais found in such representations.

Gargantua (c. 24) "went to see the Jugglers, Conjurers, and Quacksalvers, and paid attention to

Antics, Tricks and Somersaults, etc.” This furnishes a hint of the observant character of our author, even though the idea be to a certain extent paralleled in Athenaeus XI. 464 E, which of itself would commend the notice to the humanistic side of his character.

The number of citations from *La farce de Maistre Pierre Patelin* point in the same directions as do the “Morris-dances, Masks, Mummeries, Farces, Comedies and Merry Tales” played by Rhizotomus at a wedding (IV. 52), when the use of the leaves of an old copy of the *Sextum* in the Decretals for masks led to the miraculous disfigurement of the wearers.

In III. 37 *les Jongleurs* are spoken of, practically corresponding to our “Strolling Players,” and among them is mentioned *le Sot et le Badin*.

RABELAIS AS PHYSICIAN

Besides the lists in “the Anatomy of Lent” in IV. 30, 31, there is a great deal of medicine and surgery to be found in Rabelais, shewing that he took up the profession of his life as earnestly as he had done the two faculties of divinity and law, to which he had previously devoted himself. The number of citations and allusions to passages in Scripture and his references to Church government and Canon law are sufficient proof in one case, while his many references to Justinian’s Digest and Code and the glosses thereon argue considerable familiarity with the legal studies of his time

on the other side. But his interest in Medicine seems even greater than is shewn in the other two studies.

The *Pantagrueline Prognostication*, as we might expect, refers to the Arabic physicians and philosophers Averroes and Avicenna, as well as Albumazar, Avenzagul, Hali Abbas and Avenzouar, but in a Prognostication of this kind, mostly intended to raise a laugh, it is natural to expect reference to the Arabs, who have always been looked upon as astrologers *par excellence*. But even in this burlesque writing a reference may be found to the *Colliget*, the great medical treatise of Averroes (c. 3), to an Aphorism of Hippocrates (v. § 39), and to a dictum of Galen *contraria contrariis curantur* (*Method. medendi* xi. 12). Again in the Almanack to 1533 Rabelais quotes the celebrated first aphorism of Hippocrates, *Vita brevis, ars longa*, and in that of 1535 Galen's frequently repeated declaration that "Nature has made nothing without reason."

In *Pantagruel*, c. 1, there is an allusion to the *ptisane*, the celebrated diet-drink of barley-water, to which both Hippocrates and Galen have devoted a treatise; c. 8 speaks of "the Microcosm" which Galen ascribes to older physicits. Twice (*P.* 18 and iii. 32) Rabelais derives from Galen (*de us. part.* viii. 2) an exclamation against those who dispute rather to maintain a thesis than to find out the truth.

Rabelais is learned on the subject of hot mineral springs in c. 33 but his learning is derived from Hippocrates and Pliny, and he furnishes a list of a dozen places in France and Italy where mineral waters were drunk or used in baths; after which he gives a gigantic prescription of scammony, cassia and rhubarb for his

giant prince. Besides this, two or three ordinary medical allusions may be found, as well as some mention of medicinal plants.

In the *Gargantua* prologue he cites Galen (*de us. part.* xi. 18), somewhat incorrectly, on the substance of the marrow, and in the third chapter parades an array of learning on the possible legitimacy of a child born in the eleventh month after the death of the father. Most of his authorities (among them Hippocrates *de alimento*) are simply taken from a passage in Gellius, while Rabelais adds two of his own, one of which is a passage in Servius' commentary on Virg. *Ecl.* iv. 61. This derives additional interest from being used again in III. 12 and 51. Later on in 1540, Pellicier, Bishop of Maguelonne, French ambassador at Venice, consulted our author on this very point. The letter is still preserved.

In the sixth chapter the birth of Gargantua from the left ear of his mother, at first sight merely a piece of indecent profanity, proves on nearer examination to be a parade of anatomical knowledge grafted on to a singular materialistic piece of theology of the Roman Church. It is an almost literal interpretation of the text *Verbum caro factum est*, which may be found in painted windows in France and elsewhere. The speech of the angel is represented as a ray of light penetrating the ear of the Virgin, and the figure of a small child may be seen depicted in the ray. There is also a hymn of St Ephrem containing the words:

Gaude, virgo, mater Christi,
Quae *per aurem* concepisti
Gabriele nuntio;

and still more outspokenly the pious peroration of the *Liber Thobiae* in the *Autores octo morales* gives:

Felix conjugium, dum se sacra verba maritant
Auriculæ, verbum fit caro patre carens.
Angelus obstetrix; pater infans, sermo maritus,
Auris sponsa, parens nata, creatur homo.

Galen supplies anatomical passages by which such a birth might be miraculously possible: "And so in our account we have brought the *vena cava* to the diaphragm" (*de usu part.* VI. 1) and "conducting upwards the *vena cava* from the diaphragm to the throat" (*id.* VI. 4).

Galen is quoted (*de simpl. med.* IX. 2. § 9) on the green jasper, as formerly worn by King Nechepsos. It was worn as an amulet against epilepsy and divers ailments. Here Rabelais wrote probably with his tongue in his cheek (G. 8). In the tenth chapter he is again cited on the subject of snow-blindness, when he quotes from Xenophon's *Anabasis*, and in the same chapter three of his passages are referred to on the subject of death from excessive joy when it comes unexpectedly. Two passages in Avicenna are correctly cited on an overdose of saffron producing the same result, as also a problem of Alexander of Aphrodisias in support of this experience. The *Problems* of Aristotle and Alexander had been translated by Theodore Gaza. Ten instances of deaths from excessive and sudden joy are now given, apparently from Cicero, Pliny, Livy, Gellius and others, but they are really derived from the *Officina* of Ravisius Textor.

The treatise on education, cc. 23, 24, is supported by references to Greek medical writings. The precepts

followed are ascribed to "Master Theodorus, a learned physician," and it is amusing to find that in the earlier editions Seraphin Calobarsy (an anagram on Phrancoys Rabelais) is the name given to the physician. After bearing with the vicious system by which his pupil had been indoctrinated, because Nature does not well endure sudden changes (Hippocr.) Ponocrates, the tutor, has Gargantua purged by hellebore, so as to rid him of his perverse habit of brain, and then puts him under his own system and, among other items of instruction, causes him to learn passages bearing on the meals that come to table, written by Pliny, Athenaeus, Galen, Aristotle and others; and afterwards in botanical excursions instructs him out of Theophrastus, Pliny, Dioscorides, Nicander, Galen and others. From this we learn where to look for the information that Rabelais scatters so profusely in his "books."

The war between Grandgousier's army, conducted by Gargantua, and that of Picrochole is rich in anatomical passages and quite Homeric in the details of the wounds given. The sutures of the skull, the various parts of the neck and body, as they are gashed by Brother John, allow of the display of considerable surgical knowledge, which is pronounced to be quite correct by Dr Le Double (*Rabelais Anatomiste*). Rabelais and Galen give only two *meninges* or membranes to the brain, whereas three are known to modern anatomists; otherwise the account given is that of a skilful anatomist.

The *Third Book* is full of humanistic learning and more carefully elaborated than any other. It was

begun in 1543 at St Ayl near Orléans, and completed probably at Cardinal du Bellay's château at St Maur-les-Fossés near Paris.

In III. 2 is a quotation from an aphorism (I. 13) of Hippocrates that "Youth is impatient of hunger," but in c. 4 there is an elaborate account of the "Hierarchy," i.e. the due arrangement and subordination of the organs and limbs of the "Microcosm," i.e. little World, that is Man (cf. Galen, *de us. part.* III. 10). The whole of this eloquent and highly wrought passage is founded on a passage of Hippocrates, *de alimento* II. 20, a treatise previously referred to in G. 3, *κατὰ μὲν οὐλομελίην πάντα συμπαθέα κατὰ μέρος δὲ τὰ ἐν ἐκάστῳ μέρει μέρεα πρὸς τὸ ἔργον*. This is interpreted by Galen (*de us. part.* I. 8) to mean "the parts of the body are all in sympathy with each other, that is, they are in agreement for the combined performance of one task." Rabelais proceeds to describe in detail the formation of the blood, and then its conveyance by the arteries and veins to and from the various organs set apart for that purpose. Much of this is doubtless derived from the fourth and sixth books of Galen's *de usu partium*, but there is also a passage very similar in matter and arrangement in Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* II. §§ 133-8, which is quoted by Budaeus, *de Asse*, lib. I. p. 45, so that here we may be pretty sure we have Rabelais' source. There is a considerable amount of anatomical writing in the *Timaeus* of Plato, who was well acquainted with Hippocrates' work, and our accomplished French physician had certainly read the *Timaeus* as well as several other dialogues. One point is corrected by modern anatomy. The *rete mirabile* (τὸ καλούμενον

δικτυοειδὲς πλέγμα μέγιστον θαῦμα τῶν ἐνταυθοῖ, Gal. *de Hippoc. et Plat.* VII. 4) (V. 611-17) is spoken of here and III. 31 and IV. 30. It is described as a labyrinthine system of innumerable arteries, veins and glands situated in the brain on the mucous membrane. In this are retained the vital spirits (ψυχικὸν πνεῦμα) during their elaboration into animal spirits (ζωτικὸν πνεῦμα). Dr J. F. Payne in his *Hunterian Oration* 1896 says that "the description of the *rete mirabile* is a mistaken notion of Galen's detected by Vesalius."

Rabelais cites Galen in the sixth chapter on the danger of living in newly whitewashed houses, and in the seventh he claims his authority for the assertion that the head is made for the eyes, as lighthouses are constructed on heights near seaports. In the thirteenth chapter he refers to Hippocrates and Galen among others for the conditions necessary to be observed in divination from dreams, insisting that the mind must free itself from all passions, and the body must be kept clear from perturbations arising from improper or excessive food and drink, though on the other hand a long fast is not conducive to secure trustworthy visions, for that, in order to remedy hunger and the cravings of the stomach, the veins suck for themselves the substance belonging to the fleshy members (Gal. *de us. part.* IV. 19) and so draw down again the spirit which was roaming from the body towards its celestial home. In the fourteenth we are told from the physicians (Hipp. *Epid.* VI. 5. 5 and Galen's Commentary on it, IV. 20) that sleep strengthens the powers of digestion and that a sudden waking from this state signifies and portends evil. In

the twenty-second chapter Epistemon, who, we learn from III. 34, was at Montpellier with Rabelais, like a true *medico* suggests from Hippoc. (*Aph.* III. § 26) that the old poet Raminagrobis may be suffering from worms in his body, or from the *filaria Medinensis* or guinea-worm, a sort of subcutaneous worm which in Arabia attacks the arms and legs. This is interesting as being discussed in Galen, *de locis affectis*, VI. 3, Avicenna's *Canon*, IV. 3. 2. 21, and Ambroise Paré, VI. 23.

In c. 24 the learned Epistemon, after rallying Panurge on the vagaries of dress which he had adopted in his perplexity, is called in to give his opinion on the subject of the proposed marriage. After citing the first *Aphorism* of Hippocrates on the hazard of empirical treatment and the difficulty of judgement, he gives a learned account of various oracles in the world, but advises that, since their authority has ceased, he should not put his faith in them too readily. He also refuses to listen to Panurge's suggestion to consult Saturn, who is chained in the Ogygian islands. Most of this learning comes from Plutarch.

In c. 25 Her Trippa pronounces unfavourably on the formation of Panurge's chest. Hippocrates (*Epid.* VI. 3. 10) asserts that such persons are subject to catarrh. In c. 29 Brother John ventures on the assertion that nurses lose their milk if they desist from suckling children. This is from Galen *de loc. affect.* VI. 6. In c. 29 Galen's *dictum* that medicine is the art of healing the sick and preserving the health of the sound (*Thrasymb.* c. 5) is propounded.

In c. 31 the physician Rondibilis, giving his advice

on the subject of marriage, is naturally full of all manner of preventives in the interests of continence. He prescribes (1) excess in drinking (from Plutarch), (2) the use of certain herbs (from Pliny), (3) assiduous labour (from Aristotle, Tiraqueau and Hippocrates), also a warning against idleness, with instances derived from Tiraqueau, (4) fervent study, mostly suggested from Cicero's *Tusculans*, 1. §§ 74-5, and enforced from Plutarch, Lucian and Hippocrates, (5) unstinted indulgence.

Chapter 32 is devoted by Rondibilis, who represents Rondelet the Montpellier professor, to the causes of infidelity among women, and naturally the treatment of the subject is from a medical standpoint. After citing from a letter of Hippocrates to a friend, directing him to keep a watch on his wife during his absence on a visit to Democritus—not that he has reason to mistrust her, but simply because she is a woman—Rondibilis goes on to speak of the inconstancy and imperfection of women, and then proceeds to maintain a thesis of Plato in the *Timaeus*, where he asserts that the *uterus* is ζῷον ἐνὸν ἐπιθυμητικὸν τῆς παιδοποιΐας (91 B) and that unless this animal is assuaged dire disorder results. Although a good deal of this is taken from Tiraqueau's book, it is reinforced from Avicenna and Plato, insisting that it exists as an animal apart from the control of the rest of the body. This is opposed by Galen (*de loc. affect.* VI. 5) who maintains that this loss of self-control is caused by noxious humours which arise. Galen is accused of conceit and prejudice against his elders.

At the end of this chapter is a little allusive medical banter, when Panurge offers Rondibilis some quince-jelly and some white hippocras. The former he credits

with a pleasing astringency (cf. Avicenna, *Canon*, v. 18, *Cydonia confita quae conveniunt ad confortandum stomachum et stringunt naturam*), and assures the doctor that in the latter there is no *squinanthi* (σχολ-*vavθος*, the scented reed, *juncus odoratus* of Pliny 21. 120) so that he need have no fear of *esquinances* or quinsy. There is an oblique thrust at the doctor here, implying that he would call quinsy *squinantia*, cf. Bud. *Pand.* p. 543, ab ignaris medicis non *synancha* (συνάγχη, cf. iv. 56) sed *squinantia* dicitur, simili errore atque...*sciatica* pro *ischiade* vel ischiaco dolore, qui et *ischiadicus* dicitur.

In c. 34 Rondibilis, at the suggestion of sickness in a wife, is prompt with a quotation from Hippocrates (*Aph.* 11. 35), while Panurge as a legist supplies a rubric from the Digest. At the end of the consultation and of the chapter, on the subject of a fee, Rabelais develops a delicious phrase of Merlin Cocai, the macaronic poet, *medicorum more negantum*; he is himself improved on later by Molière (*Médecin malgré lui*, 11. 8). In c. 35 he speaks of a *neuter* in medicine and a *mean* in philosophy, referring probably to Galen's definition: *Medicina scientia est salubrium et insalubrium et neutrorum* (*ars med.* c. 2). In c. 36 Panurge in distress at the contradictory answers of Trouillogan, the Ephectic or Pyrrhonian philosopher, records his symptoms and fears he is bewitched. These symptoms are put down in the Aphorisms (iv. § 49) as indicative of approaching death in the case of a continuous fever. Later he declares that his digestion is impeded and that his *phrenes*, *metaphrenes* and *diaphragms* are in a state of tension to understand these varying remarks. This is merely a distortion of anatomical terms.

Even Judge Bridlegoose in c. 40 parallels his delaying process with the medical practice (Hipp. *Aph.* I. 22) of waiting for the development of an ulcer before lancing it, and in c. 41 cites a proverb: "Happy is the Physician who is called in at the declension of a disease."

In c. 45 physicians testify that the limbs are caused to tremble when sudden inspiration affects a small body (cf. Hipp. *Prorrh.* I. 14). This is asserted in Shakespeare (*Hamlet* III. 4. 14), "Conceit in weakest bodies strongest works." Avicenna is quoted in the next chapter assaying that the kinds of madness are infinite. The same thing is said by Galen (*de loc. affect.* III. 7). The list of medical extracts for the *Third Book* concludes in the last chapter (52) by observations in natural science on the indestructibility by fire of the salamander and of larch-wood. The first is from Galen (*de temper.* III. 4) and the second from Pliny (16. 45) and Vitruvius (II. 9. § 14).

In the *Fourth Book* the Prologue to the first (partial) edition (1548) refers to precepts given by Hippocrates and Galen to the Physician to be extremely careful to avoid giving offence to the Patient. He is to be scrupulously observant in every point—gestures, face, clothes, words, look, touch; he even particularises the nails. From this he turns to another passage in the *Epidemia* of Hippocrates in which a theory is started, not as to whether the countenance of the physician, downhearted or joyful, depresses or elates the patient—that may be taken for granted—but whether there is an actual transfusion of spirits from the physician. All this is repeated in the Epistle of Dedication of the completed *Fourth Book* to the

Cardinal of Châtillon, with some additions and illustrations. The practice of medicine is compared by Hippocrates¹ (he says) to a farce played by three characters, the Physician, the Patient and the Disease. The combination of any two of them defeats the other. Bacon, *Apoph.* 152, attributes this to a Dr Johnson. Rabelais also gives three illustrations from Galen of the contrary practice in the case of some physicians who scared and disgusted their patients by brutal answers to anxious questions. These were the Abernethys of the time.

In the Prologue to the new and completed *Fourth Book* Galen is held up as an example of a physician who was not only a successful practitioner in the case of others but also careful of his own health. For he says the Physician will hardly be credited with care for the health of others who is neglectful of his own. The same is asserted of Asclepiades, a fashionable doctor of Pliny's time (7. 124). Galen is also said to have conversed with Christians, and three references to his writings are given to support the fact that he had some reverence for Holy Writ. It is amusing to find that it is the obstinacy of the Christians in matters of faith that is most dwelt upon by Galen—"you would as easily convince Christians of their error as the leaders of the sects of medicine and philosophy." Another passage Rabelais quotes as of doubtful authenticity, which ascribes to Christians the power of faith-healing.

In the body of this book there is not much to interest us in medical matters except occasional *obiter dicta* and

¹ *Epid.* I. II. § 5.

minor observations about teeth and unimportant points of the pharmacopœia, and the mention of the *pericardium* as the capsule (σκληρὸς χιτῶν in Galen) of the heart. Attention may be drawn to one point at the termination of the celebrated storm. Epistemon the *medico* is speaking of the fright of Panurge and insists that he felt as much fear himself but that it did not prevent him from doing his utmost to help. He goes on to say that death in this or that way is partly in the will of God and partly in one's own discretion; therefore it is our duty to implore the help of *the Gods*, but not to make an end there; we ought to use our best endeavours to help *them*. From this it seems certain that this *dictum* is taken from Hippocrates (*de victûs ratione*, lib. iv., *de insomn.* § 87) and not from the commonplace book of Plutarch (*Lac. Inst.* c. 29) copied by Erasmus. Of course the heathen "gods" are changed in the second edition and an apposite text is given from St Paul on cooperation with the Deity (1 Cor. iii. 9).

The list of the internal organs and the limbs of Lent have been spoken of (p. 90) as derived from Galen and illustrated by contemporary objects. Here perhaps the portrait of Lent as deduced by Dr Le Double from the comparisons supplied by Rabelais may be given. He was an old, lean, gawky, weak creature, tormented by repentance and physical infirmities, none too reputable. He had a round head, hollow cheeks, eyes drenched with tears, ears upstanding and ill-marked, a nose like a boot and wide nostrils, a wide mouth furnished with long yellow teeth, no beard or hair, by reason of the tonsure.

Altogether he was an unpleasant person. Later on in the Windy Island (c. 43) every malady is due to Ventosity, according to Hippocrates *de Flatibus*, and the *hyphenemian* Podestà, the magistrate hatched from a wind-egg (from Galen), is spoken of. A story of Brother John's of a serpent being enticed out of a man's stomach by a bowl of milk is gravely corrected by Pantagrue out of Hippocrates. In c. 50 Rabelais recurs to a point insisted on in *Gargantua* (c. 45), that it is wicked to attribute to the Deity and to the saints the infliction of maladies. This is also the doctrine of Hippocrates. In c. 54 the *sphragitid* vermilion earth from Lemnos is spoken of. (A long account of it may be found in Galen.) In c. 58 a passage on "Ventriloquists," or *Engastrimythes*, is taken, with references to Aristophanes, Plato, Sophocles and the *Decretum*, from Caelius Rhodiginus. Rabelais characteristically adds a passage from Hippocrates, and calls such persons diviners and deceivers of the people, identifying them evidently with the pardon-pedlars and their false relics, etc.

In the *Fifth Book* not much medical lore is to be found; there is more in the episode of Queen Quintessence, cc. 18-25, but throughout the book small allusions are let fall, which go to prove that the writer was versed in anatomy and medical science. In the Prologue a *dictum* of Avicenna is quoted, *Maniae infinitae sunt species* (*Canon*, III. I. 4. 19), and another of Hippocrates (*Aph.* III. 20) to the effect that madness generally shews itself in spring. In c. 9 there is a passage probably suggested by Galen (*de us. part.* xv. 4) to the effect that under the tool-bearing trees the

proper handles were growing, each suitable to its kind of tool, and that they always selected the ones fitted to them. Later the quinsy and King's evil (*χοιπάδες*, Hipp. *Aph.* III. 26) are mentioned, and in c. 21 an interesting point in anatomy is brought out—that the second vertebra is called “dentiform.” This is from Galen (*de us. part.* XII. 7), who asserts that by Hippocrates it was known simply as “the tooth.” The three kinds of dropsy are mentioned here, and *hot* and *cold* gout. Hippocrates seems to have known only two kinds of dropsy, but Aretaeus speaks of three. *Ophiasis* (falling of the hair), which is identified by Avicenna with *Alopecia* and mentioned by Galen, *Method. med.* XIV. 16 and Pliny, 28. 163–6, is spoken of in this chapter. The *pilulae aggregativae* (pills that collect and dispel all peccant humours) of Avicenna (v. 1. 9) are alluded to in c. 30, and in c. 42 occurs “the canon of Polycleitus,” i.e. the statue of Polycleitus which was itself the rule of perfection (Galen, *de us. part.* XVII. 1), and the *vena cava* entering the heart by the right ventricle (Galen, *de Hipp. et Plat.* VI. 3). Chapter 43 corrects “the opinion of Plato, Plutarch, Macrobius and others” that the drink descended into the lungs by the trachea and not into the stomach by the oesophagus. This error is interesting as having been maintained by these writers and combated by Hippocrates, *de morbis*, IV. 54–6, Aristotle, *part. an.* III. 3. 664 B and Galen, *de Hipp. et Plat.* VIII. 9, *de usu part.* VII. 16, Sir T. Browne, *Pseud. Epid.* IV. 8 (cf. Mayor's *Juvenal*, IV. 138).

As a practising physician Rabelais evidently sets before himself the highest traditions of his predecessors,

beginning with Hippocrates and Galen, whom he cites as examples. The object he assigns for his "books" and his purpose in writing them is to beguile the tedium of his patients in the suffering caused by their maladies, and he cites both of the great Greek doctors and others to shew that the physician's duty is in every way, even in the smallest particular, to consult and indulge the well-being and the wishes of his patients. It is unnecessary, he says, to prove that the cheerful bearing or the reverse of the doctor is communicable to the patient—that is self-evident—he even goes so far as to believe in the possibility of the actual transfusion of spirits of the one to the other. That his own cheeriness of disposition was beneficial, is testified by his friends and his patients in epigrams and poems that survive.

In botany perhaps Rabelais has been credited with too great knowledge, so as to be considered almost in the light of a pioneer of botanical science. This is carrying it too far. True it is, he had studied the knowledge of the plants in use in ancient and modern medicine, the *de simplicium medicamentis* of Galen, the plants mentioned by Dioscorides, as well as the long lists in Pliny and some in Theophrastus, though in almost every case it is Pliny quoting Theophrastus rather than the Greek author himself who is the source of his quotation or reference, as may be seen in the forty-ninth, fiftieth and fifty-first chapters of the *Third Book*. He was also acquainted with the pharmacopœia of Avicenna and other Arabic physicians. A sentence at the end of III. 49, in which he shews acquaintance with the sexes of plants is hardly enough to support

the claim that is made for him, seeing that this knowledge is shared with him by Herodotus, Theophrastus, Pliny and others and the sentence itself is derived from Tiraqueau. In fact, the knowledge of botany had come to the end of a long chapter about 1530, in Rabelais' time, and a new and more scientific phase was just beginning. It is not a little, however, to say that he knew much that was to be known in his time about botany, as well as the other numerous branches of study, and that he did himself follow up independent research in plants and their history; and it should be remembered that the plants which he mentions, long as the list is, are only those which occur to him in illustration of the subjects immediately before him; it by no means exhausts the knowledge he had acquired in botany. It would have been difficult to display a greater knowledge of this study in a book of the kind Rabelais was writing, and he certainly has succeeded in shewing that his acquaintance was considerable for the time in which he lived, and that with better opportunities he would have made himself master of a more scientific acquaintance of this subject. But the scientific study was only then beginning.

PLANTS MENTIONED BY RABELAIS

Reff.: PLINY, *Hist. Nat.*; GALEN, *de simpl. medicam.* ed. Kühn; AVICENNA, *Canon*, II. 2; DIOSCORIDES, ed. Kühn.

<i>F. R.</i>	
III. 50	Achillea, Pl. 8. 42; D. IV. 36 alii sideritin; 32 aliqui Heraclean.
III. 51, V. 36	Aconite, 8. 99; 27. 7.
III. 50, IV. 24	Adiantum (capillus Veneris), 26. 62; G. 7. I. 7; D. IV. 134.
III. 51	Aegilops, 18. 155; G. 7. I. 8; D. IV. 137.
IV. 63	Aethiopsis, 26. 18; D. IV. 103.
IV. I	Agalloch, Avicenna, II. 2. 733; D. I. 21.
III. 49, 52	Agaricum, 16. 33; G. 7. I. 5; D. III. I.
III. 31	Agnus castus, 24. 59, 62; D. I. 134.
III. 50	Agrimonia Eupatoria, 25. 65; D. IV. 41.
III. 50	Alcibiadion, 27. 39; D. IV. 23-4.
P. 24	Alicacabut, 21. 177; D. IV. 72-5 <i>de strychno halicacabut.</i>
III. 18	Alkermes, D. IV. 48 <i>de cocco tinctili.</i>
III. 51, IV. 62, V. 37	Allium, Plut. <i>Quaest. Conv.</i> II. 7. I. 641 C σκόροδον; D. III. 115.
III. 50	Alopecurus, 21. 101.
III. 50	Alyssum, 24. 95; D. III. 95.
P.P. 5	Amaracus (<i>marioletz</i>), 21. 61.
V. 31	Anacampseros (sedum), 24. 167.
IV. 43	Anemone (tria genera), (1) coronaria, (2) medica, (3) phrenion, 21. 164.
G. 13	Anetum (dill), 20. 196.
III. 50	Anthyllis (<i>barba Jovis</i>), 16. 76.
III. 51	Antranium (<i>ateramon</i>), 28. 155.
III. 50	Apsinthium (<i>santonica</i>), 27. 45.

F. R.

- P.P. 4, G. 9 *Aquilegia* (*l'ancolie*).
 III. 49, 50 *Aristolochia*, 25. 95; D. III. 4.
 III. 50 *Artemisia* (*armoïse*), 25. 73; D. III. 117.
 III. 51 *Arundo*, 25. 85.
 III. 50 *Asarum* (*sang de Mars*), 12. 47; cf.
 baccaris, 12. 45; D. I. 9; III. 44.
 III. 52 *Asbestos*, 19. 19.
 IV. 7, V. 7 *Asparagus*, 19. 54, 151.
 V. 7 *Avena fatua*, 18. 149; a. *sativa* L.
 III. 50 *Baccaris*, 12. 45; cf. *Asarum*.
 III. 50 *Bechium* (*tussilago*), 26. 22; D. III. 116.
 G. 13. *Beta*, 20. 69.
 III. 51 *Betulla*, 16. 75.
 V. 18 *Botrychium lunaria*.
 G. 13, III. 13, IV. 7 *Brassica*, 20. 78-96.
 III. 50 *Buglossum*, 25. 86.
 III. 51 *Caepe*, 19. 101.
 III. 50 *Callitriche*, 22. 62.
 III. 49, 52 *Cannabis*, 19. 174, 20. 259; D. III. 145.
 III. 51, IV. 63 *Caprificus*, 23. 130.
 III. 32 *Cardamom seed* (*graine de Paradis*), 12.
 50.
 III. 50 *Castaneae*, 15. 23, 25.
 III. 51 *Celtis australis* (*fenabregue*, micoculier
 Litré), *ôpéa*, Ath. III. 78 B.
 III. 49 *Centaurea* (*Smyrnum olusatrum*), 27.
 133.
 III. 13, 50 *Cerasus*, 15. 102.
 III. 50 *Cicer*, 18. 10; *ἐπέβρωθος* D. III. 126.
 III. 31 *Cicuta*, 25. 151; *G. de temperamentis*.
 III. 50 *Citron* (*Medica mala*), 15. 47.
 III. 50 *Clymenus* (*honeysuckle*), 25. 70.
 III. 52 *Colocasia*, 21. 87.
 G. 13 *Condurdum* (*Fr. consolide*, Angl. *com-*
 frey), 26. 26.
 III. 51 *Cornus*, 16. 103.
 III. 50 *Coronopûs*, 21. 48; G. 8. 1. 44; D. II. 157.
 P. 7, III. 51 *Cotton*, 12. 30, 39.
 III. 50 *Crocus*, 21. 137; *zafferan* in Avicenna.

- F. R.
 G. 13 Cucurbita, 20. 13.
 III. 49 Cupressus, Theoph. *H.P.* III. 3.
 III. 51 Cuscuta (epilenium), cf. C. Stephanus,
de re hortensi, p. 60.
 III. 32 Cydonia (quinces), 15. 37; Avic. *Can.*
 v. 1. 8.
 III. 50 Cynara scolymus L.; Athen. 70 A, 71 C.
 P. 28 Daphne cnidiorum (*coccognide*), 13.
 114, 27. 70; κόκκος κνίδιος G. *fac.*
nat. 1. 13.
 III. 50 Delphinium, D. III. 77.
 IV. 63 Dictamnus, 8. 97; D. III. 34.
 III. 50 Dipsacus fullonum, labrum Veneris,
 25. 171, 27. 71.
 IV. 52 Echium (*personata*), 21. 87.
 III. 50 Ephemerum, 25. 170.
 III. 51 Equisetum, 18. 259, 26. 132; D. IV. 46.
 Ep. Rom. 12, v. 29 Eruca, 19. 155.
 P. 33 Eryngium maritimum (*panicault*).
 IV. 62 „ campestre, 22. 18; οἱ δὲ μῶλυ
 D. III. 21.
 P. 28, III. 50 Euphorbia, 25. 77; D. III. 86.
 III. 13, 49, 50 Fabae (beans), 18. 40.
 III. 51 Fenabregue (Celtis australis), Athen.
 III. 79 B ὀρέα.
 G. 13 Faeniculum, 20. 254.
 III. 51 Ferula, 13. 22; D. III. 81.
 III. 51 Ficus, 15. 47; Ath. III. 78 B.
 III. 49, 51 Filices, 27. 80.
 III. 50 Faenum graecum, 24. 174; D. I. 57
 (τήλις).
 III. 49, 50 Gentiana, 25, 71; D. III. 3.
 v. 29 Glaucium, 20. 19 § 78; μήκων κερατῆς
 G. 7. 12. 14; D. IV. 66.
 G. 24, III. 51 Hedera, 16. 144.
 III. 50 Heliotropium (marigold), 22. 57, cf.
Solsequium.
 G. 23, III. 24 Helleborus, 25. 47; D. IV. 148;
 Theoph. *H.P.* IX. 10.

- F. R.*
 III. 50 Helxinè, 22. 41; G. 7. 5. 10.
 III. 50 Henbane (hyoscyamus), 25. 35.
 III. 50 Hermodactylus (tuberosus) = Colchicum autumnale, Burton's *Anat.* II. 4. 1. 2.
 III. 50 Hieracium, 20. 60; D. III. 65.
 III. 51 Hierobotane (peristereon), 25. 105.
 III. 50 Hippuris, 26. 132; G. 7. 9. 4.
 III. 50 Holosteum (Stellaria holostea L.), 27. 91; D. IV. 11.
 V. 42 Hyacinthus (orientalis L.), 21. 66.
 III. 50 Hyoscyamus, 25. 35; G. 8. 20. 4; D. IV. 67.
 III. 49 Ilex (Fr. *houx*), 16. 32.
 III. 27 Indica herba, 26. 99; Theoph. *H.P.* IX. 18. 9.
 III. 50 Iris, 21. 44.
 V. 29 Juglans, 23. 147.
 III. 32 Juncus odoratus, 12. 104, 21. 120 (*σχοίανθος, squinanthi*).
 III. 50 Juniperus Sabina, 24. 102; D. I. 104; G. 7. 2. 15 (*βράθυ*).
 G. 13 Lactuca, 20. 58-68.
 III. prol., IV. 7, V. 1 Lapathium, 20. 231.
 P. 32, IV. 52 Lappa (Arctium) (Fr. *bardane*), 27. 33; D. V. 106.
 III. 52 Larix, 16. 45.
 III. 49, 50 Laurus Daphne, Ov. *M.* I. 452.
 III. 50 Lavandula (Stoechas), 27. 131; D. III. 28.
 III. 50 Lentesc, 18. 40.
 III. 50 Lepidium, 19. 166.
 III. 50 Lichen, 26. 22.
 III. 50 Ligusticum, 19. 165; D. III. 41.
 III. 49 Linum, 19. 1; D. II. 125.
 V. 18 Lunaria.
 V. 29 Lupulus (Fr. *houblon*), C. Stephanus, 71.
 III. 50 Malum granatum, Punica mala, 13.

<i>F. R.</i>	
III. 13	Malum (curtipendium), <i>de court pendu</i> .
III. 45	„ (<i>blandiveau</i>).
G. 13, III. 50	Malva, 20. 222.
III. 31, 49	Mandragora, 25. 147.
G. 13, P.P. 5	Mariolaine (marjoram) amaracus, 21, 61.
III. 51	Melitenses vites, 12. 38; Cic. <i>Verr.</i> II. ii. § 176, iv. § 103.
V. 31	Mentha, 19. 159; ἡθύσμον D. III. 36.
G. 13, III. 50	Mercurialis, 25. 38.
P. 1	Mespilus (medlars), 15. 84; D. I. 169; G. 7. 12. 11.
III. 50	Myosota, 27. 23 and 105; D. II. 214 ἀλσίνη; G. 7. I. 25.
III. 25	Myrica (tamarisk), 25. 67.
III. 50	Myrobalanus, 12. 109; Avic. II. 2. 79.
III. 50	Myrtus (myrsine), D. I. 155.
III. 50	Narcissus, Ov. <i>M.</i> III. 339.
III. 50	Nardus (Spica celtica), 12. 42, 14. 109.
III. 50, V. 29	Nasturtium (cardamus), 19. 155; D. II. 184.
V. 29	Nuces juglandes, 23. 147.
III. 31, 51	Nuphar luteum, 25. 76.
III. 51	Nux, Athen. III. 78 B.
III. 31, 51	Nymphaea heraclea (nenuphar), 25. 76; D. III. 138.
IV. 59	Olivae colymbades, 15. 16.
III. 31	Orchis parva, 26. 95.
III. 51	Orobanchè (Lat. <i>ervangina</i>), 18. 155, 22. 162; D. II. 171; G. 7. 15. 15.
III. 49	Paeonia, D. III. 149.
III. 50	Panacea, 25. 30.
III. 50	Pentaphyllum, 25. 109; D. IV. 42.
III. 31, 50	Periclymenus, 25. 70; D. IV. 14.
III. 50	Persica, 15. 44; D. I. 164.
IV. 52	Personata (carduus), D. IV. 105, cf. <i>Echium</i> .
III. 50	Petasites (tussilago), D. IV. 108; G. 8. 16. 15.

<i>F. R.</i>	
<i>P. 6</i>	Petroselinum, 20. 12; D. III. 70.
v. 29	Phaseolus, 18. 125; D. II. 130.
<i>G. 13</i>	Phlomis(verbascum), 25. 120; D. IV. 102.
III. 50	Picea (Pitys), 16. 40.
v. 26	Pinaster, 16. 38.
IV. 54	Pirus, 23. 115 (<i>bon christian</i>).
III. 13	„ crustumenia, 15. 50.
<i>P.P. 4</i>	„ anginaria, (<i>poyre d'angoysses</i>) of Dordogne.
IV. 60	Pistacia, 13. 51.
III. 50	Pisum, 18. 40.
III. 50	Polemonia, 25. 64.
<i>G. 13</i>	Polygonum (persicaria), 27. 113; D. IV. 4.
III. 51	Populus, 16. 85.
III. 13, 51	Portulaca (Fr. <i>pourpier</i>), 20. 211; <i>ἀνδράχνη</i> D. II. 150.
III. 50	Psyllium, 25. 140.
III. 50	Punica, cf. <i>Malum granatum</i> , 13. 112.
III. 49	Quercus robur, Athen. III. 78 B.
III. 49	„ ilex, 16. 32.
III. 50	Rha barbarum, D. III. 2.
<i>G. 13</i>	Rosa, 21. 14.
III. pr., IV. 7, v. 1	Rumex (patientia), lapathium, 20. 231.
IV. 43	Ruta, 20. 135; D. III. 45 <i>πήγανον</i> .
III. 50	Sabina, 24. 102, see <i>Juniperus</i> .
III. 31, 51	Salix (alba L.), 16. 110, 24. 58.
III. 31	„ Amerina, 24. 58.
<i>G. 13</i>	Salvia, 26. 31.
IV. 62	Sambucus (Fr. <i>sureau</i>), 16. 179; <i>ἀκτὴ</i> D. IV. 171.
<i>P. 17, G. 25, IV. 12</i>	Secale, 18. 140.
III. 51	Securidaca (pelacanon), 18. 155.
v. 31	Sedum anacampseros, 24. 167.
<i>P. 15</i>	„ telephium, 25. 42.
III. 51	Serica, 12. 17.
III. 50	Serpyllum, 20. 245.
III. 51	Smilax (aspera L.), 16. 154; D. II. 175.
III. 49	Smyrnium olusatrum, 13. 109, 27. 133; D. III. 72, cf. <i>Petroselinum</i> .

<i>F. R.</i>	
<i>P. 24</i>	<i>Solanum</i> (<i>Physalis alkekengi</i> L.), 21. 177; <i>Avic. II. 2. 369 kekengi</i> = <i>solanum halicacabum</i> .
III. 50	<i>Solsequium</i> (<i>Sousil</i> , marigold), 2. 109, 27. 57, cf. <i>Heliotropium</i> .
III. 50	<i>Stoechas</i> (<i>lavandula</i>), 27. 131.
III. 51	<i>Taxus</i> , 16. 51.
III. 50	<i>Telephium</i> (<i>sedum</i>), 25. 42; <i>D. II. 217</i> , cf. <i>Achillea</i> .
III. 49	<i>Terebinthus</i> , 13. 54; <i>Theoph. H.P. III.</i> 15.
V. 5	<i>Teucrium</i> , 21. 44; <i>D. III. 101</i> ; <i>tripolium</i> , <i>D. IV. 133</i> ; <i>polium</i> , <i>III. 114</i> .
<i>P. 24</i>	<i>Tithymallus</i> , 26. 62; <i>D. IV. 162</i> .
III. 50	<i>Trifolium</i> , 21. 54.
<i>G. 13</i>	<i>Verbascum</i> (<i>mullein</i>), 25. 12; <i>φλόμος</i> , <i>D. IV. 102</i> ; <i>Av. II. 2. 98</i> .
III. 51, IV. 3	<i>Verbena</i> (<i>hierobotane</i>), 19. 5, 25. 105; <i>περιστερεών</i> , <i>D. IV. 60</i> .
III. 31	<i>Vitex</i> (<i>Agnus castus</i>), 24. 59, 62.
III. 51	<i>Ulmus</i> , 24. 48.
<i>G. 13</i>	<i>Urtica</i> , 10. 163.
III. 51	<i>Vitis</i> , 17. 152 sqq.
III. 51	<i>Yvraye aera</i> , <i>lolium temulentum</i> L. (tares), 8. 155, 25. 85.

As in nearly every case the reference is to Pliny, his nomenclature has been given, and it has not been thought necessary to prefix *Pl.* to the references to him. *G.* and *D.* mean respectively Galen and Dioscorides. The sections of Sillig have been employed in Pliny references, rather than the old method of chapters and paragraphs, as being more exact and less cumbrous. This notation is adopted in all later editions.

RABELAIS AS A HUMANIST

The account of Gargantua's reading in the fourteenth chapter is probably intended to represent Rabelais' own experiences. Thubal Holofernes may be the village schoolmaster, who taught the alphabet forwards and backwards, at which he was engaged "five years and three months." This would perhaps bring him to his seventh year. Next came the *Autores octo morales* in the Convent school at Seuillé, which occupied thirteen years six months and two weeks. The *De modis significandi* with its commentaries and the *Computus* or tables by which to find Easter and the holy days, and the books for an intending ecclesiastic which were taught by Jobelin Bridé, completed his education.

The purpose of the chapter is to ridicule the books of instruction and the methods of teaching then in vogue, and to contrast them with the more enlightened method employed by Ponocrates. Possibly Rabelais has in view not only his own case but also the experience of Budé, who first at Paris and then at Orléans, where he studied jurisprudence, made but little progress, but spent his time at tennis and other games and in hawking, of which he has left a long account in his commentary on the Pandects. Much use is made of the *de Asse* and *Annotationes in Pandectas* in the *Pantagruel* and the *Third* and *Fifth Books*. No doubt it was Budé's example that first caused Rabelais to follow the teaching of the humanists Valla, Poliziano, and above all Erasmus, whom he has laid so much under contribution.

The course of reading marked out for Charles V by Erasmus in the *Institutio Principis Christiani* (1516) is eminently characteristic. A prince, he says, should read the *Proverbs* of Solomon, *Ecclesiasticus* and the *Liber Sapientiae*, also the Gospels, the *Apophthegmata* and *Moralia* of Plutarch, Seneca, Aristotelis *Politica*, Cicero *de Officiis*, Plato and Cicero *de Legibus*. With the exception of Aristotle's *Politics* traces of all these books may be found in Rabelais.

The employment of Proverbs by great writers is remarkable, but not surprising when we find them so much employed in early Greek Philosophy. In fact the earliest form of philosophy consisted of maxims which embodied in a crystallized form the broad outlines of moral philosophy, as it was then known. The *dicta* of the Seven Wise Men and the *Symbola* of Pythagoras are of this nature, and throughout the ages this kind of portable wisdom was much in use. Such again are the glosses to the laws, civil and canon, so often in the mouths of lawyers and magistrates, to clinch their judgements. Shakespeare's lawyer is "full of wise saws and modern instances." Erasmus attached much importance to his book of *Adagia*, with its commentaries on more than 4000 proverbs, and we find Rabelais constantly borrowing from this book, but quoting also proverbs of physicians, theologians and lawyers to support the contentions of his interlocutors. In Don Quixote not only Sancho Panza, but the Knight himself resorts to this kind of support; in a way they may be compared with the Solomon and Marculphus of the queer medieval book to which Rabelais once refers, where the clown Marculphus is represented as

capping the refined *dicta* of Solomon with the coarse, homespun witticisms from the fields or the stable.

The influence of Ovid on the medieval romances and writings was very great, and as there was an *aetas Vergiliana* in the eighth and ninth centuries, an *aetas Horatiana* in the tenth and eleventh, so there was an *aetas Ovidiana* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and although the *Metamorphoses* with its mythological lore is mostly drawn upon—so much so that it is styled *Ovidio maggiore* by Dante (*Conv.* III. 3. l. 50)—yet the erotic poetry of the *Heroides*, the *Ars*, the *Amores* and the *Remedia* was much read and copied, to a great extent on account of its easy Latinity and the facility given by Elegiac verse to detach maxims from their setting. This made these books favourites with the “glossers” of the Roman and Church laws. The old educational book known as Maximianus is full of citations from these parts of Ovid, and for this it is pilloried by the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villedieu, who proposes to substitute his own wholesome teaching “pro nugis Maximiani,” though neither his book nor the *Grecismus* of Everard of Bethune, the two treatises which held the field of instruction in Latin Grammar and versification from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, are by any means blameless in this respect.

It is as a humanist that Rabelais first made acquaintance with literature properly so called. After Budé, Erasmus served as a guide and a source from whom extracts are taken without stint, particularly from his *Adagia*, *Apophthegmata* and *Colloquia*. Lorenzo Valla also, the Canon of St John Lateran (a post to which he was wisely promoted by Pope Nicholas V, who

chose to have the great scholar as an ally rather than an enemy, after the publication of the *de ficta donatione Constantini*), influenced Rabelais considerably. In the proem to the first book of the *Elegantiarum linguae Latinae libri sex* Valla inveighs bitterly against the corrupters of Latinity, comparing it with Rome when captured by the Gauls. "For these many centuries," he says, "not only has no one spoken Latin, but even read Latin books so as to understand them."

In the proem to the *Second Book* he deals well-merited castigation to the grammarians who succeeded Donatus, Servius and Priscian, such as Isidorus, Eberardus and Hugutio. The proem to his *Third Book* deals similarly with the barbarous latinity of the lawyers, civil and canon alike. He declares that as the Goths and Vandals invaded and destroyed Rome, so these lawyers have invaded the Latin language with their Gothic jargon and writings. In the proem to the *Fourth Book* St Jerome is chidden for discouraging Latin scholarship, when he said that he had been scourged before God's tribunal and accused "quod Ciceronianus esset et non Christianus."

Rabelais was also well acquainted with the writings of the great Italian scholar Angelo Poliziano, whom he mentions once or twice and from whom he borrows. An edition of the *Epistolae*, the *Miscellanea* and the *Prologues* of Poliziano, as well as his *Silvae* and his translation of Herodian, was published by Gryphius in 1537-9, which Rabelais may have seen through the press. He also takes something from Johannes Jovianus Pontanus, the head of the Neapolitan "Academy," and also from the *Dies Geniales* of Alexander ab

Alexandro; from Eliseus Calentius he borrows the name Rodilardus, the great *cat*, although in his Latin translation of the Homeric *Batrachomyomachia*, Rodilardus is the king of the *mice*. The last-mentioned scholars were members of the same Neapolitan Academy.

Next to Erasmus, Caelius Rhodiginus of contemporary scholars supplies most material in the *Fourth Book*. His real name was Lodovico Celio Riccheri of Rovigo (1450-1525), and he had been made professor of Greek and Latin at Milan by Francis I. He wrote a huge volume in sixteen books (afterwards divided into thirty) on every conceivable subject of literature and antiquities, which Rabelais found useful in his compilations. Caelius Calcagninus also, professor of *belles-lettres* at Ferrara, supplies an important apologue on the children of Physis (*Nature*) and Antiphysis.

Hints and names are also derived in the *Pantagruel* from Sir T. More's *Utopia*, which first appeared in 1516 and of which an edition was published at Paris by Gilles de Gourmont in 1517 and one by Froben at Basel in 1518.

In the *Third Book*, which turns very much on methods of divination, very great use is made of the *de occulta philosophia* and the *de vanitate scientiarum* of that curiously learned scholar, Henricus Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim. The first of these treatises gained for the writer the reputation of a necromancer—not without some reason—while the second is practically a recantation of the speculations and the mysticism contained in the first, as being the errors and vagaries of youth.

The relations of Rabelais with the printers and their

productions are of great importance in connexion with his life and writings. We cannot lose sight of the fact that the Renaissance could not have had such far-reaching influence but for the invention of printing and the wonderful activity of the presses of that time. Although Aldus Manutius and his partners and successors at Venice stand first, there were others who deserve special commendation for the diffusion of knowledge and learning, ancient and modern, such as Robert Stephen and his son Henry at Paris, the Giuntas at Florence, Froben at Basel, Quentel at Cologne and many others. For our present purpose we are more concerned with the presses at Lyons, whither Rabelais had betaken himself at the beginning of 1532. Here, in a most intellectual centre of France, he found himself in congenial surroundings and was able to slake his thirst for knowledge from the shelves of Sebastian Gryphius, the great printer of classical books at Lyons. Gryphius printed for the most part only Latin and a few Greek books, and was a great benefactor to the reading public of that time by publishing, like Teubner of the present day, handy editions of the Latin classics. These had a very wide circulation, and to this day one finds on bookstalls in Rome and other cities more old editions of Latin books such as Suetonius, Valerius Maximus, Macrobius, Gellius, etc., issued by this press than by any other. It is said that the only French books that he published were Cl. Marot's translation of the first book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and the *Arrêts d'Amour* or Judgements in the Court of Love, with a legal commentary on each by a trained lawyer and scholar, Benoît à Court,

supported by references to the Pandects and Code and a varied array of classical learning. From this press issued Erasmi *Adagia* (1529 and 1530), also a Latin translation of several of Lucian's treatises by Erasmus and Sir T. More (1534), and a Latin translation of the *Odyssey* by Raphael Volaterranus (1541). Recently M. Baudrier has published in the eighth volume of the *Bibliographie lyonnaise* an almost complete list of the books that issued from this press. Sebastian Gryphius was born at Reutlingen in Suabia (? 1491) and died at Lyons September 7, 1556. His publications range from 1528 to 1556, but other members of his family had presses at Lyons, in cities of Italy and elsewhere. He has been accused, possibly with justice, of publishing pirated reprints of many of the Venetian productions; be that as it may, he did great service to education. It is more than probable that Rabelais acted as reader for the press in the case of many of his books. This would be about the years 1532-5 and 1537-9. It might account for his singular familiarity with books like Maturin Cordier's *de corrupti Latini sermonis emendatione*, which Gryphius brought out in 1532 after it had been badly treated by R. Stephen of the Paris press in 1531.

But there were many presses in Lyons before the arrival of Gryphius in 1528. First in interest for us stands François Juste, who succeeded Claude Nourry, and issued books from 1529 to 1547. Nourry published the first edition of *Pantagruel* in 1532. The only surviving copy is in the *Bibliothèque nationale*, but unfortunately the title-page is lost. Of the second edition (B) one copy survives in the Royal Library of

Dresden. It is described as *Augmenté et corrigé fraichement* and published at Lyons by F. Juste in 1533. It has been reproduced in phototype facsimile (December 1903) by MM. Léon Dorez and Pierre Paul Plan. Another edition in 1534 and a definitive one in 1542, also by Juste, complete the tale of the editions which we can look upon as authoritative. They are all enlarged in bulk and altered in the arrangement of the chapters. Similarly Juste published a *Gargantua* in 1534, 1535, 1537 and 1542. It is important also to notice in the list of Juste's publications *La grande nef des folz* (1529) a translation of the *Navis stultifera* of Sebastian Brandt, *Les œuvres de Guillaume Coquillart* (1535), *Les œuvres de François Villon* (1537), all which books furnished Rabelais with something in his writings.

Again, the lists of other Lyonnais printers give works of which Rabelais had certainly seen the titles, if he had not read the books. Such are the list of Olivier Arnouillet, Lyon, près nostre Dame de Confort (1517-58). It comprises

Galien réthoré, 1525	...	...	cf. <i>Pant.</i> cc. 24, 30.
Valentin et Orson, 1526	...	...	<i>Pant.</i> cc. 1, 24.
Le Blason des Couleurs, 1528	...	...	<i>Garg.</i> c. 9.
Menus propos de la Mère Sotte, 1535	...	...	cf. <i>Pant.</i> c. 4, v. 47.
Melusine, 1544	...	...	iv. 38.
Geoffroi à la grant dent	...	...	<i>Pant.</i> c. 5.
Huon de Bordeaux	...	...	<i>Pant.</i> c. 30, <i>Garg.</i> prol.

and that of Jehan de Vingle (1494-1511):

Les IV filz Aymon, 1495	...	...	<i>Garg.</i> c. 27.
Fier-à-bras, 1496	...	...	<i>Pant.</i> I. 30.
Olivier Maillard, <i>Sermones</i>	...	...	iv. 8.
Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, 1497	...	...	<i>Pant.</i> c. 7, v. 31.
Pragmatica Sanctio Caroli VII, 1499	...	...	<i>Pant.</i> c. 12, III. 39.

Jehan Trechsel came from Germany to Lyons and was perhaps the first to set up a press there. For correctors of the press he had first Janus Lascaris (cf. *Garg.* c. 24) and afterwards Josse Bade of Assche (Josse Badius Ascensius), who was born 1462 and came from Brussels to Lyons in 1491, where he stayed till 1510, after marrying Trechsel's only daughter Thalia. He afterwards became celebrated as a printer in Paris. He printed an edition of the *Philobiblon* of Richard de Bury together with Jean Petit in 1500.

Trechsel's list contained:

Guillermi de Vorrilong opus, folio 1489	...	<i>Pant.</i> c. 7.
Practica Valesci de Tharenta, quae alias <i>Philonium</i> dicitur, 4 ^o , 1490	... ..	iv. <i>Ep. Ded.</i>
Roberti Gaguini...de origine et gestis Francorum. Lugduni impensis Johann. Trechsel...et diligenti accuratione Jodoci Badii Ascensii, folio 1497	... ..	cf. iv. 49.

Melchior and Gaspar Trechsel published

Symphoriani Campegi <i>Clysteriorum campi</i> , contra Arabum opinionem, pro Galeni sententia	<i>Pant.</i> c. 7.
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This was also published at Basel, 1532.

Jehan du Pré, who set up presses in many places: Paris 1481, Salins 1484, Lyons 1487, Paris 1489. From his press have been noted:

Terentii comoediae VI, 1488.		
Liber qui <i>compotus</i> dicitur, 1488-9	... ..	<i>Garg.</i> 14.
Auctores octo morales cum glossa, 1491	... ..	„
Eberhardi <i>Grecismus</i> , 1493	... ..	„
Vie des anciens Pères hermites, 1494	... ..	<i>Garg.</i> 22.

Galliot du Pré was also a printer in Paris, and his press seems to have supplied books to Rabelais, who used his motto *Vogue la galée* a couple of times. *Garg.* 3, iv. 23.

Very important in this connexion is the name of Barnabé Chaussard, who printed at Lyons from 1496. From his press we find

Le roman de Fier-à-Bras, 1496.

La conquête du grand roy Charlemagne, 1501.

Also *sans date* :

Le caquet des bonnes chamberières.

Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles.

Le debat de l'homme et de l'argent.

Les faintises du monde.

Le recueil des hystoires des repeues franches.

This printer was evidently one of those who issued ballads and other fugitive pieces which were sold by pedlars (*bissouarts*) and eagerly bought and read by Rabelais and many more. The thirteen volumes of this kind of literature, collected and published in the *édition elzévirienne* by de Montaignon and James de Rothschild are of great value in illustrating Rabelais (*Anciennes poésies françaises inédites des xv^{ème} et xvi^{ème} siècles*). In the plays that are brought together in the *Ancien Théâtre Français* by Violet le Duc, several are printed à Lyon, à la maison feu Barnabé Chaussard près Nostre Dame de Confort; among them are

Sermon joyeux des Foux Vol. II. pp. 223-43.

Farce des cris de Paris „ 303-25.

La Vie du Mauvais Riche Vol. III. pp. 267-99.

Farce des Cinq Sens „ 300-24.

Moralité de Charité „ 337-424.

The value of such collections is clearly seen in the light they throw on the writings of a man of Rabelais' mould, one who saw and seized at once any piece of information or drollery that chance threw in his way.

He evidently enjoyed this kind of literature and on occasions adapted its phrases, proverbs and sentiments.

The ballad-like poems in the volumes of the *Anciennes poésies françaises* run through the gamut of common life and may be paralleled in many cases with the *dramatis personae* of the Plautine plays; the braggart captain, the cheating servants, male and female, the diviners and prognosticators are common to both. In the French list are to be found also the *doctrinale*, or instruction in piety and good manners, the debates between good and evil tendencies, between wine and water for instance, and between the worldly and religious man and so on; there are also *cris*, or proclamations, as well as poems on events of national history. Naturally fugitive pieces of this kind, which then formed part of men's daily life, as they did also in Shakespeare's time (cf. 2 *Hen. IV*, iv. 3. 52) and afterwards, supplied material from which a versatile writer, such as Rabelais, readily borrowed.

HISTORICAL ALLUSIONS

Rabelais was so many-sided and had experienced so many changes in his life and professions that in his writings he alludes in passing to events, policies and tendencies that are often forgotten or lost, except to professed historians; hence it is sometimes difficult to catch the meaning of a reference that is so elusive. It may be a battle or a Church Council or a piece of policy

of the Roman Church, or an allusion to a bygone scandal, skilfully woven in the web of his grotesque story. The allusions also are short and sometimes enigmatic, so that their point is easily missed, while at times he seems to drop hints that are purposely misleading and susceptible of two or more interpretations.

In the very first chapter of the *Gargantua* there is a reference to the celebrated Translation of the Roman Empire to Charlemagne, whom Rabelais conveniently considers to be a Frenchman, notwithstanding the generally accepted belief that he was a German¹. Again in the first chapter of the *Third Book* he speaks of the transplanting by Charlemagne of some Saxons into Flanders and of Flemings into Saxony, which proved unsuccessful; this is also mentioned by Shakespeare².

To the earlier history of France there are two or three allusions: (1) The great *Truye* or Sow, a pent-house used at the siege of Bergerac³. (2) The defeat of Philip van Artevelde by Charles VI of France at Roosebeke in 1382, and the insurrection ten years later of the *Maillotins* in Paris against the *gabelle*, and their submission, before the king would enter the city⁴. The troubles caused by the long minority of Charles VI and probably by that of Henry VI of England seem to be referred to⁵. Also the appointment by Louis XII of Antoine de Croye as tutor of Charles V, who was entrusted to him by the Archduke Philippe. The

¹ Decretal. 1. 6. 34 (*Venerabilem*). Agrippa de Van. Scient. c. 80. Gibbon, c. 49. Bryce *H.R.E.* cc. 7, 13.

² *Henry V*, 1. 2. 43-53.

³ *iv.* 40.

⁴ *iv.* 36.

⁵ *G.* 50.

saying of the Duke of Bedford at Orléans when he refused to raise the siege: "He would not beat the bushes for another to take the birds" is in the list of Gargantua's proverbs¹.

Of the semi-fabulous history of the early Kings of France there are hints and gibes at the claim of the French to be descended from Francus, second son of Hector son of Priam, King of Troy². In the genealogy of Pantagruel in *P.* 1 the three first names, Chalbroth, Sarabroth and Faribroth, seem to be Hebraized forms (on the analogy of Nembroth = Nimrod) of Childebert, Charibert, and Farabert, sixth, eighth and twenty-eighth kings of the old dynasty, according to the account of Jean Bouchet in his *Généalogies des Roys de France*.

There is a curious reference to the battle of St Aubin du Cormier in Brittany (July 28, 1488), as a result of which Brittany became part of France by the marriage of Charles VIII to Anne de Bretagne. It is given in an allegorical description of a battle between flocks of jays (who represented by their plumage the azure and argent of France) and pies, who bore the Breton ermines in their feathers. This took place, according to Poggio in his *Facetiae*, No. 234, on the confines of Brittany in April 1451. To add point to the story Rabelais represents one of the jays, who returned wounded from the war, to have belonged to an old uncle of his own living at Angers.

Naturally there are several allusions, direct and indirect, to the battle of Marignano, near Milan (Sep-

¹ *G.* II.

² *P.P.* 5; *P.* 1; III. prol.; IV. prol.

tember 15, 1515). Francis I, who had just succeeded to the throne, took a great part in it, and the defeat of the Swiss did much to break down their arrogance and presumption, inspired by the defeat of Charles le Téméraire of Burgundy. Matthieu Schinner, Cardinal of Sion, had got together 50,000 Swiss troops to assist the Pope and Maximilian of Austria against Francis, who was coming to occupy Milan. In the absence of the Cardinal and Colonel Rost, their commander, terms had been made to allow Francis to enter Milan peaceably, but when they came up they induced the Swiss to break the treaty and to attack the French. The result was one of the most obstinate battles on record, in which the Swiss are said to have lost 15,000 men. The Swiss minimized the crushing nature of the defeat by insisting that they were allowed to draw off unmolested, but a contemporary letter of Erasmus from Basel (October 1515) shews that they felt the reverse deeply¹. Their defeat was celebrated in a song, which still survives, by the French composer Jannequin². It contains several cries and exclamations of the battlefield which Rabelais has helped to perpetuate; he has also preserved the chorus: *tout est frelore, la tintelore, tout est frelore, bigoth*. It is employed as the despairing cry of Panurge in the height of the storm³ and in the word *tintelorisé* (= crestfallen) in one of the litanies⁴. This chorus is given by Scott in *Peveril of the Peak*, c. 47.

The treachery of the Swiss in this matter is insisted on⁵, and they are compared with Chitterlings or

¹ Erasm. *Ep.* 360, ed. Allen.

⁴ III. 38.

² IV. prol.

⁵ IV. 36.

³ IV. 18.

Sausages, which are sold in double links, *doubles* having also the meaning of double-dealing. Their squat, burly figures are also a source of merriment in the chapters devoted to them¹; among them is signalized "the great Bull of Berne²," named Pontiner, according to Paulus Jovius, lib. xv.

In *P. II* (which is throughout a tissue of incoherence with a hint dropped here and there) is an obscure allusion to the engagement at *la Bicocca*, formerly a hunting-seat of the Visconti near Milan, where the French general Lautrec sustained a reverse by the Imperialists under Prospero Colonna, owing to the disaffection of 16,000 Swiss mercenaries. This was on April 27, 1522.

Francis I had tried to arrest Charles de Bourbon, constable of France, at his castle at Chantelle (1523)³. Charles had slighted advances from Louise de Savoye, the king's mother, and was suspected of disloyalty. Bourbon withdrew from his allegiance, and joined Charles V. He did great mischief to the French in the Milanese, especially at Pavia, and ultimately led his mercenaries, Spanish and German, to Rome where he was struck down by a cannon-shot while leading a storming party against the Castle of St Angelo, May 6, 1527.

The king being unable to take the command in the Milanese, sent his favourite Bonnivet, with Bayard and Montmorency as lieutenants. Bonnivet mismanaged affairs, and was deserted by 5000 Swiss troops; he was only saved by being wounded and having to entrust

¹ IV. 36-42.

² *P. I*; IV. 41.

³ *P. 5*.

the command to Bayard, who succeeded in bringing off his troops, but was himself killed.

Francis now (1524) marched to the relief of Mar-seilles, which had offered a stout resistance to Bourbon. He retired into the Milanese, followed by the king, who instead of marching into Milan, as he was advised by his lieutenants Chabannes and Montmorency, laid siege to Pavia. Francis had been solicited by Pope Clement VII to undertake the conquest of Naples as well as that of Milan and had detached a part of his army under James Stewart, Duke of Albany, for service against Naples, thus considerably weakening his own forces. Rabelais protests against this mistake¹.

Things, however, were going on well with the French, when Bourbon with 16,000 German mercenaries suddenly arrived and joined the Imperial forces. The experienced French generals were for allowing him to pass into Pavia, where was a dearth of provisions, and entrenching themselves at the Certosa, which was exceedingly strong; famine would then do its work with the enemy. Through the influence of Bonnivet this prudent advice was rejected and the disastrous battle of Pavia was risked, February 24, 1525. The king was taken prisoner, while the duc d'Alençon, husband of Margaret, the king's sister, was one of those who fled at the beginning of the engagement.

Francis was imprisoned first at the Certosa and afterwards at Madrid, where he was treated with considerable harshness. Ultimately he was released, March 10, 1526, through the good offices of his sister Margaret. Rabelais comments in bitter terms on this

¹ *Epp. Rom.* i. § 1.

conduct of the Emperor, who had been styled *the Catholic* by Papal authority¹.

Bourbon had been appointed by Charles V to succeed his general Pescara, who had died during the siege of Milan. But taking offence at the non-fulfilment of the Emperor's promises to him, and finding himself at the head of a powerful army, he conceived the design of getting possession of Naples, and in order to provide his mercenaries with pay he promised them that they should be rewarded with the sack of Rome. They marched on and laid siege to the Holy City. Bourbon was struck down at the first assault, but the sack of Rome followed on May 7, 1527, and proved the most dreadful on record in barbarity and destruction of buildings and property. The Emperor reaped the advantage of it in the ransom of the Pope and many Cardinals, after a seven months' siege in the Castle of St Angelo. Rabelais refers to it in *Epp. Rom.* i. § 1 and also enigmatically in *P.* 30, where in the next world Nero is represented as a fiddler and Fierabras as his serving-man, who played him mischievous tricks, starving him on bad bread and wine, while he himself lived sumptuously. Nero may well be intended to represent Clement VII, with his beard (*Ahenobarbus*) and his musical tastes, while Fierabras stands for the epicure Charles V, who pretended devotion to the Pope while he allowed him to be maltreated and took a large ransom from him. It is also to be noted that in the romance *Fierabras* the first division is entitled "*La Destruction de Rome.*"

In 1534 the divorce of Henry VIII from Catharine

¹ G. 50.

of Aragon brought about the rupture between England and the Roman Church after Charles, Catharine's nephew, had insisted on the excommunication of Henry, notwithstanding the efforts of Jean du Bellay, Bishop of Paris and French minister at Rome. Rabelais was present and speaks of the episode¹ and also of the death of Catharine, January 6, 1536².

Naturally Rabelais was *au courant* with contemporary history, especially where the Popes were concerned. He reprobates more than once the bellicose nature³ of Julius II and alludes to his beard⁴, which is so well known to us in Raphael's representation of him, and in Michael Angelo's Moses. He alludes to the long-standing difference between the Popes and the Ferrarese and also to the quarrels between Louis XII and the Venetians, Maximilian and the Swiss, and the cat- and dog-like attitude of the English and the Scotch⁵, of which he records a concrete instance—the battle of Inchkeith in 1548⁶. He even instances the fighting of the Russians and the Tartars⁷ and the contemporary battles between the Sultan and the Sophy, or Shah of Persia, in 1535⁸.

In the Prologue to the *Fourth Book*, written in 1551, a review of European events is given by Jupiter presiding over a Consistory or Council of the Gods. The quarrels of the Turks and Persians, and of the Russians and the Tartars, are put aside as settled. The piracy of the Infidels on the Mediterranean coasts is also set aside. The tedious siege of Magdeburg had been

¹ Ep. ded., Marliani *Topographia*. ² *Epp. Rom.* III. § 16.

³ IV. 12. 50. ⁴ P. 30. ⁵ III. 41. ⁶ IV. 67.

⁷ III. 41. ⁸ *Epp. Rom.* I. § 1, II. § 9, Paulus Jovius.

finished and the quarrel on the subject of Parma and Mirandola had been settled. This was the most important for Rabelais, for it was the bone of contention between Henry II and Julius III, the newly elected Pope, who wished to deprive Orazio Farnese of these towns, but as Orazio Farnese was married to Diane, a natural daughter of the French king, strained relations resulted between the Pope and France. It has been shewn by M. Romier¹ that this was the cause of the *crise gallicane*, when Rabelais was instigated to write in support of the French cause against Rome in his *Fourth Book*.

As might be expected from a man who had been a Franciscan Friar and a Benedictine Brother, he has many allusions, open or covert, to the Church services and to the Church Councils; also to the policy, enactments and general conduct of the Roman Church and the guiding spirits thereof; especially noting the abuses, which were crying for reformation.

In iv. prol. is an allusion to Me^e Pierre de Cugnières, who in 1329 had maintained the authority of the king against the Church. The clergy caused stone marmosets resembling him in face to be placed at the corners of the chapels, against which tapers were extinguished. There is still one in Notre-Dame.

Clerical immunity from punishment in the secular courts, which had been conceded by Charlemagne and had grown into notorious abuse, is covertly alluded to in iv. 49.

The excessive power in shaping the counsels of the Roman Church which had been attained by the

¹ *R.E.R.* x. 140.

Mendicant orders, and their practice of grasping at bequests from dying persons, notwithstanding their professions of poverty, is strongly reprobated in III. 21-3 in the episode of the dying poet Raminagrobis.

The abuse of pluralities is glanced at in *P.P.* 5, where it is asserted that the dearth of church-folk will be so great that four and even more benefices will have to be conferred on one person. An allusion is also given in *G.* 52.

Two Popes—Boniface VIII and Nicholas III—are gibbeted for simony, which however was so common that it hardly called for special reprobation (*P.* 30).

The legatus *a latere*, punningly styled *alteré* (thirsty), and a number of officers of the Papal chancery are ridiculed by their functions forming part of the blazon of Triboulet the court fool (III. 38).

The sham Crusades got up by the Medici Popes, so that they could pocket the results of the taxes (*decimæ*) levied for the Crusades, are pointed out in *Epp. Rom.* I. § 1, *P.* 17, III. 7.

The shameful tax (*cullagium*) levied to allow Church dignitaries to maintain concubines is obliquely alluded to in *P.* 7.

The Council of Constance was convoked by the Emperor Sigismund in 1414, to put an end to the schism caused by the three claimants to the Papacy, Gregory XII, Benedict XIII and John XXIII. This event is girded at by a *quaestio* of Rabelais inserted in the list of books in the St Victor library¹. It is put in the usual scholastic form. *Quaestio subtilissima*,

¹ *P.* 7.

Utrum Chimaera in vacuo bombinans possit comedere secundas intentiones; et fuit debatuta per decem hebdomadas in Concilio Constantiensi. Whether the Chimaera, the Homeric monster consisting of a lion, a goat and a serpent (i.e. the triple Pope), buzzing in a vacuum (i.e. without a see), can devour second intentions (i.e. can swallow its promises to surrender the Papacy when requested by the Council).

The Council of Basel, convoked in 1431 under Martin V and concluded under Eugenius IV in 1439, was celebrated for the endeavours of the Popes to maintain their supremacy and the struggles of the Council against this contention¹. One of the principal results affecting the French Church was the re-affirmation of the Pragmatic Sanction². This enactment had been agreed to by Clement IV and Louis IX in 1268, and renewed in 1438 at Bourges by Charles VII, but with considerable differences. This new Pragmatic Sanction adopted many of the decrees of the Council of Basel, which had been passed against the will of the Pope and in his absence. Among other things *annates* were abolished, by which the Popes received payments for the appointments, confirmations or collations to benefices. Also many of the appeals to the Roman chancery courts were declared unnecessary; they might be decided in the courts of the country concerned. University nominees to benefices and graduates had previously been expected to get confirmation of their appointments by a personal visit to Rome. A curious allusion to this is found in *La ramasse des*

¹ IV. 56.

² P. II; III. 41.

*nommez et graduez*¹ (The Alpine sledging of the nominees and graduates) alluding to the difficulties of crossing the Alps to get to Rome.

The enactments of the Pragmatic Sanction were hateful to Rome and the Popes continually tried to evade them. An amusing reference is found to the tricks of Pius II, who as Aeneas Sylvius, when secretary to the Council of Basel, had strenuously maintained its rights against Eugenius IV. When he became Pope in 1458, Pius issued bulls against the claims of the Council, setting aside his former contentions as youthful indiscretions. This is put in the form of a volume in the library of St Victor: *Pronosticatio quae incipit "Sylvii triquebille," balata per M. N. Songecrusion*² (The Prognostication which begins: "The Volte-face of Sylvius" danced by "Our Master" Songecreux). *Pronosticatio quae incipit* is intended as a parody of a formal papal edict such as *Constitutio quae incipit*, etc., while Songecreux, the mountebank Pontalais, is given the pompous title *Magister noster*, so much affected by University graduates.

The Pragmatic Sanction was abolished by Francis I at the instance of Leo X at the fifth Lateran Council (1517). Both Pope and King obtained advantages by the substitution of the *Concordat* for the *Pragmatic Sanction*. The Pope regained many of his perquisites such as *annates*, etc., while the King obtained the power of appointment to benefices, etc. The *Concordat* was enacted in spite of the *Parlement*, who, however, insisted on putting on record their opposition. Rabelais speaks of the Council of Lateran as wearing a Cardinal's

¹ P. 7.

² P. 7.

hat and as being the husband of Pragmatic Sanction¹. In another passage² the Concordat is styled a bailiff. Very little is to be made of these allusions, but the transactions were recent in 1546 and the mere mention of them was intelligible, while plainer speech might be dangerous.

The *Lateran* Councils, of which there were at least five, are alluded to mockingly as "Lantern" Councils; *Lanterns* and "lanternize" are several times applied to the members and their proceedings. Thomas Becon, Cranmer's outspoken secretary, is still more uncomplimentary when he speaks of *Concilium Latronense* (a Council of Robbers).

The Council of *Trent* is foreshadowed³ as being pressed by the Laity on an unwilling Pope. It was first convoked at Mantua in 1536, but adjourned to Vicenza and afterwards to Trent by a bull of Paul III, for May 22, 1545, but it transacted no actual business till March 1547 when seven sessions were held and some decisions were taken. Nothing was passed that concerned Rabelais till April 28, 1552, after his *Fourth Book* had been published. He only hints that some measures were expected, and he styles it the Council of *Chesil*, a Hebrew word which means "mad" or "stormy." There were hopes that the rigours of Lenten observance would be softened, but these seem to have been disappointed, judging by a remark that Lent was strictly forbidden to enter into any covenant with the Chitterlings⁴. The fish diet of Lent is glanced at more than once⁵; Lent is held up to contempt as

¹ III. 41.

² III. 28.

³ *Epp. Rom.* III. § 16.

⁴ IV. 35.

⁵ Ep. Hullot.

the banner-bearer of the Ichthyophagi¹, and Lenten fare is declared on medical authority to be the fosterer of diseases and therefore advocated by physicians². This is following the lead of Erasmus in his "Colloquy" of *Ἰχθυοφαγία*.

A very serious chapter³ decries the enactment in the Roman Church that a marriage was lawful and valid without the consent or presence of the parents, if only a priest were there to solemnize it. The point and some of the language is derived from Erasmus's *Colloquium* (*Virgo μισόγαμος*). The phrase of the Church was *matrimonium de praesenti* (*Decretal.* iv. i. 9 and 31). The Council of Trent did in fact remedy this to some extent in 1563 by an enactment *de clandestinis*. This matter has been examined (p. 75).

LOVE OF GEOGRAPHY AND TRAVELS

That Rabelais delighted in geography, travel and adventure, is shewn not only in the accounts he gives of the environs of Chinon and of the places he records in Brittany, Poitou and Languedoc and even in his allusion to the forest of Ardennes to the north of Metz,

¹ iv. 29.

² v. 29.

³ iii. 48.

but also in the journeys and voyages by which he conducts his hero round about Poitiers and Ligugé and after that to the various university towns in France. His allusions to the Canary Islands shew that he had found an interest in the conquests of Jean de Béthencourt, while Pantagruel's first voyage to Utopia round Africa proves that he had read not only Sir T. More, but accounts of the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese and their passage to Melinda and to India; and in the second voyage in the *Fourth Book* he is alive to the attempts of Verrazano, Roberval, Cartier and other French travellers to explore Canada and achieve the North-West passage to Cathay, or China, which had been so curiously described by Marco Polo, the Venetian. It is easy to see how he had familiarized himself with the fabulous stories of travel in the *Odyssey*, and the *Vera Historia* and other writings of Lucian, besides reading the *Orbis Novus* of Grynaeus, which contains accounts of travel by Thенаud, Cadamosto, Peter Martyr and others, whose names are mentioned in v. 30. Several incidents recorded of the storm suffered by Columbus are paralleled in Pantagruel's second voyage to Cathay, such as the throwing overboard of an account of his discoveries in a carefully fastened cask, the cry of "Land! Land!," the account of St Elmo's fire, the desire of Columbus to be the first ashore, and the landing at the Azores, adapted to Plutarch's account of the Macraeons. Rabelais delighted thus to indulge his taste for illustrating his humanistic reading by the events and incidents of his own time; though in tracing a general resemblance we must beware of looking for too great exactness in

all points. Also, now that the political purpose of the second edition of the *Fourth Book* has been made out by M. Romier¹, the state of affairs in Europe must not be lost sight of, when we attempt to find exact geographical counterparts N. of Canada to the "Islands" at which Pantagruel touches.

In the *Gargantua*² allusions are to be found to the discoveries of Columbus, Isabella (*Hispaniola*) and the Perlas Islands³, while mention is made of Java and Madagascar (*Phebol*), Greenland and Iceland⁴ in the *Third Book*.

Although he followed the voyages of all these travellers, Rabelais did not altogether attach credence to their marvellous accounts. In iv. 63 considerable incredulity is manifested towards Pliny's wonders, who has already been stigmatised as a liar⁵, and the travellers, of whom a list is given in v. 30, are treated with considerable disrespect when they are said to have got together their narrations "by hearsay." This Herodotus honestly declares in certain cases, though it is only right to note that he is often confirmed by fuller knowledge; in one curious point incredulity on his part is proved by later experience to be unwarranted. He discredits the claim of the Phoenicians to have circumnavigated Africa, because they asserted that after sailing certain days the sun which had been on their left appeared on their right, thus making it certain to us that they had crossed the line at least. In the fanciful list of books in *P. 7* the title of one is "Travellers'

¹ *R.E.R.* x. 134-140.

⁴ *III.* 51.

² c. 56.

³ cc. 56 and 58.

⁵ *G.* 6.

Tales" (*Les brimbelettes des voyageurs*); in this Strabo¹ had preceded him when he remarks: "Every one is a boaster in recounting his travels." Shakespeare is kinder and perhaps juster when he says:

travellers ne'er did lie,
Though fools at home condemn them².

The same love of investigation in topography may be observed in Rabelais, when we find attributed to Panurge a special knowledge of the streets and lanes of Paris, as it is exhibited in the *Pantagruel*; also in the ardour with which Rabelais took up the description of Roman topography on his first visit to that city in 1534, and which he only abandoned when he found himself anticipated by Marliani in this task. He caused Marliani's book to be reprinted at Lyons, and himself prefixed an explanatory dedication to Bishop du Bellay.

An instance of the powers of general observation in Rabelais may be seen in the extraordinary number of places mentioned by him which may be found in modern railway time-tables (*Livret Chaix*) of the Orléanais district and that of Bordeaux, the South of France or the Paris-Lyon-Méditerranée district.

¹ 1. p. 30.

² *Temp.* III. 3. 26.

THE PROLOGUES IN RABELAIS

The Prologues in Rabelais are extremely interesting, and sometimes useful in explaining the position and circumstances of the writer at the time he is composing them, or the purpose he has in publishing the "book" to which each of them forms the introduction. It is also instructive to note who and what are the writers from whom he borrows his material; for that occasionally furnishes a clue to the date and surroundings in which he was at the time of composition.

Roughly speaking, we may learn by examination of his books, what writers were most laid under contribution for a particular portion; for although he made considerable use of contemporary writers and of those of the time immediately preceding his own, such as Marot, Gringore, Cretin, Coquillart, Villon, Patelin, as well as the *Roman de la Rose* and the old French Romances—the last especially in his earlier books, *Pantagruel* and *Gargantua*—it is as a Humanist that he is most at home, and his borrowings are mostly derived from Cicero's Moral writings, from Pliny and Plutarch's *Moralia*, from Homer (especially the *Odyssey*), from Lucian and Virgil with the commentary of Servius, from Gellius and Macrobius and several other classical authors. At the same time he delights to follow in the footsteps of the earlier Humanists, especially of Budaeus and Erasmus, his earliest guides, as well as Valla and Politian; in the *Fourth Book* and in the revision of the *Third Book* he makes much use

of Caelius Rhodiginus. It will be noticed also that Erasmus and Pliny are less employed in the earlier books and increasingly so in the later ones, when he becomes more practised in the art of composition and less satisfied with the cruder work of the earlier French romances. This will be observed generally, as also in the Prologues, which although introductory in manner, were written later, after the books to which they refer were completed.

The Prologue to the *Pantagruel* (which was the first "Book" in date, though the second in the usual arrangement) is devoted to a panegyric on *les grandes Croniques du grand géant Gargantua*, which is allowed by some critics, though denied by others, to be Rabelais' work. This is followed by a recommendation of the *Pantagruel* as a book of the same kind but a little more reasonable and worthy of credit. A personal note is also struck at the end, to the effect that the author—who is described on the title-page as "the late Master Alcofribas"—has just returned "to visit his native country and to know if any of his kindred are there alive." This has been cleverly used by M. Lefranc to fix the date of publication for this book (October 1532) and also to help to settle the date of the *Gargantua* as in October 1534 (*R.E.R.* ix. 155). In this Prologue very few loans from other writers are to be noted. There is one from Cornelius Agrippa *de vanitate scientiarum*, c. 47, on the Cabala, and a number of chivalric romances are mentioned by name; otherwise it is simple, almost burlesque, in its imitation of the old French romance writers.

In the Prologue to the *Gargantua* a great change is

to be remarked. First, the crude simplicity of the *Pantagruel* is laid aside, and a serious tone replaces it. But most noticeable is the fact that the first three paragraphs are taken bodily, with a few burlesque additions, from the *Adagia* of Erasmus, on the admirable qualities of the ugly Socrates, as represented by Plato. The following passage, which resents the disparagement of comic and droll representations as containing nothing of value, is from Lucian, and the next which forbids the estimation of men by their dress is from Erasmus. Then comes an application of a passage of Plato¹ in praise of the philosophical dog, which breaks the bone to get at the marrow so highly commended by Galen. So also the author claims for his composition an inner meaning such as is involved in allegory, so much observed in sacred mysteries and Pythagorean symbols. This again is derived from Erasmus' *Adagia*, or a passage very similar in thought and expression in Galen's *de usu partium* (VII. 14). Rabelais goes on to say that Homer never dreamed of the allegories that have been squeezed out of his writings by the critics, and especially by Politian, whom (following Budaeus) he unjustly accuses of plagiarizing. He next accuses a certain friar of foolishly deriving absurd moralisings from Ovid. He now declares that he himself when writing his Books thought no more of such things than Homer did, though, like him and Ennius, he wrote them while eating and drinking, as Horace (quoted by

¹ Plato's passage is also given in Plut. *Is. et Osir.* c. 11, and the notion is reinforced by Erasmus (*Ad.* II. 9. 35) in a line from Plautus (*Curc.* 55), quoted by Jerome: *Qui e nuce nuculeum esse vult frangit nucem.*

Erasmus) asserts. Again Erasmus supplies a story that Demosthenes spent more on oil than wine; Rabelais makes a merit that *he* spent more on wine than on oil. Therefore, concludes the jovial author, do you, my readers, interpret my deeds and sayings in the best sense, and make merry over my humorous writings.

The Prologue to the *Third Book* begins by drawing attention to the old Cynic philosopher Diogenes. Asking his French readers whether they have heard of him, Rabelais assumes that they have, since they are of Phrygian descent, like King Midas, for they are derived from Priam (if the claim of descent from Francus, second son of Hector, which they make, is just). At all events, if they have not the wealth of Midas they have his long ears. This is a scoff at the curiosity of the French which he gibes at elsewhere (*P.P.* prol.). Erasmus is drawn upon for the account of the wealth and the asinine ears of Midas. An account is then given of the conduct of Diogenes at the siege of Corinth by King Philip, when finding himself unemployed in helping in the defence of the city, he set himself to work to roll his tub up and down the Craneium. All this is greatly amplified with truly Rabelaisian humour and spirit. Hints are taken from Erasmus in describing the activity used in preparing the fortifications, and from Gellius in the list of the various weapons. In the same way and from the same motive Rabelais explains that in the expected siege of Paris by Charles V in 1544, while the citizens are all busily employed in preparing the defence, he, having nothing to do and being unable to give active help,

will employ himself as best he can and roll his Diogenical Tub, i.e. give all the assistance he can by his writings. This is derived from Budaeus in the preface to his *Annotationes in Pandectas*, where he translates and adapts Lucian's account of the siege of Corinth and the conduct of Diogenes. The Prologue goes on to commend War as, in the opinion of Heraclitus, the Father of all good things, and, in the judgement of Solomon, resembling the perfection of divine wisdom. This is directly contradictory of what Rabelais said in the *Gargantua* (c. 46), but it may be explained that he is now speaking as a patriot in the defence of his country, and thus opposing the thesis of Erasmus (*Ad. iv. i. 1*) that "War is sweet only to those who never tried it."

In these circumstances, after drinking in his inspiration, as did Aeschylus (*Erasm. Ad. iv. 3. 58*), Ennius and Cato, according to Horace, the author determines to help on the work by casks of his writings in eulogy of his countrymen's deeds of arms. Notwithstanding, he fears lest his grotesque writings may give offence where he intends to give pleasure, but relying on the kindly nature of his readers he will set to work with his Tub, from which all may drink without paying. There is no fear of the wine running short, for he will pour in at the bung as his readers shall draw out at the tap. The wine is for drinkers of good qualities and for "gouty blades of the highest walk" who will take all in good part. But it is not intended for corrupt judges and advocates, or for ill-natured critics, who only pry out errors for correction, still less for the hypocritical mendicants, who are for reading the books themselves and smelling out heresies. For them he has the

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cudgel of Diogenes, which he ordered to be laid beside his dead body to drive away roving curs.

The Prologue to the first (partial) edition of the *Fourth Book* (written in exile at Metz) begins with the acceptance of a silver flask made in the shape of a breviary, presented to Rabelais at Metz by some French courtiers from Paris, who requested him to continue his writings. On the outside this flask was decorated with hooks and magpies (*crocs et pies*), which served as a *rebus* on *crocquer pie*, a proverbial phrase signifying "to drink lustily." The author proceeds to explain this by giving a spirited account of a terrible battle between magpies and jays, which is said to have taken place at St Aubin du Cormier in Brittany and to have furnished an augury for the battle between Charles VIII and Louis, Duke of Orléans (afterwards Louis XII), in which the Breton *ermynes*, as represented in colour by the magpies, were utterly defeated by the azure and argent of the French jays. The story is told in Poggio, *Facetiae*, No. 234, but it seems to have been common gossip on the borders of Brittany and France. A jay belonging to an old uncle of Rabelais at Angers is stated to have broken out of his cage and to have joined the forces of the jays, returning a few days afterwards badly wounded, but the magpie of a neighbouring barber never returned. She had been eaten (*la pie a esté croquée*), for *crocquer pie* must have been the watchword on the day of battle. After this explanation, Rabelais expresses his willingness to accept this present and to *crocquer pie*. But the request had involved the words *do, dico, addico*, the Roman praetor's phrase for his functions on the

days that were *fasti*. (This is from Ovid and Macrobius.) The gift (*do*) being accepted, the saying (*dico*) is next examined. You say, continues the author, that my writings have pleased you and you invite me to continue them. This is practically assented to, with a reciprocal compliment. Thirdly you adjudge (*addico*) the old quarters of the moon to the lunatic calumniating monks and friars, who in imitation of the *diabolos*, or calumniating spirit, have decried the Pantagrueline writings, only in order to keep them for their own reading, and thus to take them from the sick folk for whose delectation they had been composed. According to a passage in the *Epidemia* of Hippocrates patients are undoubtedly cheered and elated by a cheerful bearing of the physician, and depressed by the contrary, perhaps also there is actually a transfusion of spirits, gay or gloomy, between patient and physician. Consequently our Doctor, unable to be present, writes his books to console his patients in his absence. Nothing, therefore, is left for his calumniating enemies but to select a tree and hang themselves. This offer is in imitation of that which Timon made to the Athenians, of the fig-tree which he was intending to cut down.

M. Romier has established (*R.E.R.* x. 113-42) almost for certain that Rabelais, utterly disgusted (at Metz) with the persistent attacks on his books on the score of heresy, laid down his pen and determined to write no more, after having written his fragmentary *Fourth Book*. Being in straits for means, he wrote his appeal to Cardinal du Bellay, dated March 6, 1547, the reply of the Cardinal being a summons to accompany

him to Rome after King Henry II's coronation at Reims. Accordingly we find that Rabelais, after taking his salary as physician at Metz up to Midsummer 1547, was in Paris on July 10, and from there joined the Cardinal at Reims, which they left together for Rome, July 22, passing Lyons, where Rabelais (ca. August 15) left with the printers his first instalment of the *Fourth Book* without corrections, and an Almanack for 1548 (the title-page of which has survived) to be published at the next November book-fair. He stayed with du Bellay in Rome from September 27, 1547, till September 22, 1549, when the Cardinal, having been superseded by Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, returned to Lyons early in November with Rabelais and some of his suite. Here du Bellay was commanded to return to Rome, to take part in the conclave, at which Julius III was elected (Nov. 29—Feb. 7, 1550). After the election, he was detained by some intrigues till July 19, when he returned at once to St Maur. Rabelais had been left at Lyons. He had informed Cardinal de Châtillon of his resolve not to continue his *Pantagruel*; but the Cardinal had obtained for him a privilege from the King to publish his writings, and by this and his efforts, backed by the request of du Bellay at St Maur-les-Fossés, had induced Rabelais to finish his *Fourth Book*. Very strained relations had occurred between the French Court and the Vatican, and M. Romier urges that this and the former slight on Cardinal du Bellay prompted the tone and the substance of this book, viz., a panegyric on G. du Bellay and his family and strong attacks on the policy of Rome.

This, M. Romier suggests, is explained by the

Epistle of Dedication to Cardinal de Châtillon of the second (complete) edition of the *Fourth Book*.

The *Epistle of Dedication* begins by saying that the author has been importuned to continue his "Pantagrueline Mythologies"; that he had written them entirely in the interest of his patients; setting forth that the duty of the physician is to cheer and please his patients in every way possible, in dress, bearing, speech, etc. He repeats from the Prologue of the incomplete *Fourth Book* the passage from Hippocrates on the necessity of a cheerful bearing on the part of a physician. He then proceeds to say that above all things a physician ought to be careful in his conversations, giving three instances from Galen of misconduct of physicians in this respect. After this he complains bitterly of the calumnies that have been raised against him by "certain Cannibals, Misanthropes and Agelasts," accusing him of heresies in his books. This he indignantly denies, but says that he had lost patience and had resolved not to write a jot more. He had set it forth to Cardinal de Châtillon himself, but the Cardinal had obtained from King Henry a privilege for the *Fourth Book*, which he had shewn to him afterwards, and again, together with Cardinal du Bellay at St Maur-les-Fossés, had persuaded him to continue his writings. Therefore, Rabelais says, under this protection he continues to write, but he asks his readers to attribute every success he may enjoy to his kind patron.

The Prologue to the *Fourth Book*, after a profession of good health and cheerfulness, which the writer attributes to the favour of God, cites the precept of the Gospel, which enjoins that a physician should see

that he enjoys good health himself before he presumes to heal others. This is backed by an extract from Erasmus on Galen and one from Pliny on Asclepiades, another physician. But if health have escaped you, the writer goes on, see to it that you secure it, like a runaway slave, as is enjoined by the learned jurist Tiraqueau in his recent treatise *Le mort saisit le vif*, i.e. by the death of the possessor the heir is seised of the property. Do you therefore pray for health and, as that is a moderate prayer, you may hope that God will hear and answer it. Prayers and wishes should always be moderate. Instances of moderate prayers obtaining an answer may be found in the case of Zacchaeus, who wished to see Christ, and in the son of the prophet, who wished that his hatchet which had fallen into the river might be restored to him (2 Kings vi. 1-7). On the subject of Hatchets an illustration is given from Aesop the Phrygian, i.e. the Frenchman, cf. III. prol. (init.). The fable is given in Erasmus *Ad.* (IV. 3. 57 *Fluvius non semper fert secures*), but it is here told of a woodcutter of Gravot near Chinon. Rabelais gives reins to his fancy and pictures Jupiter holding a Council or "Consistory" of the Gods and interrupted in his affairs of arranging the politics of the world by the cries of the Woodman praying for his hatchet. The well-known story of the gold and silver hatchets is told with very graphic amplifications, such as a survey of European politics and the squabbles in the University of Paris, while Priapus gives advice, with precedents from mythology and illustrations of his own experiences as tutelary god of the gardens, where he heard madrigals sung by musicians in May at the times

of the election of Popes Leo X and Julius III (1513 and 1550 respectively). This gives an opportunity to furnish a list of fifty-nine contemporary musicians, singers in the choir of the Popes and other princes; which list has been useful in recording the names of musicians of that time. Jupiter instructs Mercury to give the Woodman his choice of the hatchets,—gold, silver, and his own. He chooses his own and is enriched. His neighbours sell their possessions to buy hatchets, but by choosing the gold one instead of their own subject themselves to the penalty of losing their heads. Thus, the Prologue says, it will be if you do not indulge your wishes in moderation. A racy illustration is given of two immoderate wishers, who paid a heavy penalty. Consequently, do you wish and pray for health, in sure faith that such a moderate wish will be granted. Do not imitate the Genoese, who after looking over their swindling transactions, go out in the morning and wish one another “Health and Gain” and consequently are often disappointed of both.

PROLOGUE TO THE *FIFTH BOOK*

This Prologue is also founded on the *Adagia* of Erasmus from which are taken several allusions. Rabelais begins with *salsitudo non inest illi* (*Ad.* II. 3. 51), then expands a text of Ecclus. vii. 10 “Why were the former days better than these?” and afterwards, by the help of an old French proverb to the effect that

fools are most in season when beans are in flower, advises his readers to eat copiously of beans *in pod*, which he figuratively explains to be his own books. This, he says, should be done without scruple by his readers notwithstanding the prohibition of Pythagoras *a fabis abstineto* (Erasm. *Ad.* i. 2. p. 17); for Pythagoras, he declares, only forbade them to others in order that there might be the more for himself. The Prologue then proceeds to say that although the author cannot pretend to rival the excellent compositions of Colin, Marot, Heroet, Saint-Gelais, Salel, Masuel and, above all, those of Margaret of Navarre, whom he must be satisfied to hear and commend, yet he hopes to be accepted as the *Rhyparographer*, or *genre-painter* and comic writer, as compared with the writers of high rhetorical style. There are passages and expressions in this Prologue nearly identical with several in that of the *Third Book*, and some that correspond very nearly with others in that of the *Fourth Book*. This is made out by some critics to be an argument against the authenticity of the *Fifth Book*. On the other hand it may be used to maintain the thesis that the *Fifth Book* was written earlier than the other two and laid aside by the author, possibly for further elaboration, or perhaps altogether, and therefore passages and ideas in it were employed for the other two books. This was the case, we know, with the Old Prologue of the *Fourth Book*, which was made by the writer to supply matter for the Epistle of Dedication and for the Prologue of the *Fourth Book* (B).

LISTS, BLAZONS AND LITANIES

One of the features of the *Pantagrue*l and *Gargantua* is the lists of persons, books, games, fishes, serpents, etc., and those of epithets or blazons of persons, with which Rabelais regaled his readers. He readily fell in with the fashion of his times, and perhaps was enabled to go beyond his contemporaries in having at command lists of plants, animals and all sorts of collections in Athenaeus, Pliny and other writers. He seems to have revelled in taking a long catalogue from some source or other and in adding to it anything that was suggested to him by his own experience, observation or fancy. To begin with the long list of persons or characters subject to the various planets in c. 5 of the *Pantagrueline Prognostication*; in the compilation of this he was following a widespread fashion. He also translates some Latin Prognostications which had been printed in Germany. This is made more interesting from the fact that many of the curious names that he has got together reappear later in various parts of his "books." In the first chapter of *Pantagrue*l we find the pedigree of Pantagrue adapted from the genealogies of the Kings of France composed by his friend Jean Bouchet, the Poitevin jurist. The *form* in which it is put is clearly an imitation of the genealogies of our Lord in St Matthew and St Luke, while the names are derived from the Old Testament, classical writers and the names of heroes in chivalric romances, such as Fierabras, Morgante Maggiore and others. This goes to shew that he had used the

opportunity afforded him by the Lyons printers to read these prose romances.

In the seventh chapter of *Pantagruel* is a fanciful catalogue of books supposed to be found in the theological library of St Victor in Paris. It consists of a number of pious books with the titles burlesqued and a few books relating to contemporary events; but it is important to observe that in the first two editions (A 1532, B 1533) the list is comparatively short, while in the third and fourth editions (C 1537, D 1542) an addition is made as long as the original list; this allows the introduction of books suggesting comments on various political and religious events of the time; much of the matter therein is derived from that strange book composed and edited by Ulrich von Hutten and his friends under the name of *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, a most powerful satire against the ignorance and debauchery of the monks and friars. This was quite to the taste of Maistre François and he makes much use of it in the later part of the chapter. Unfortunately for modern readers this chapter can only be rendered intelligible by a commentary, which must needs be much longer than the original, though historically the titles are very interesting. One instance may be given to illustrate the double-edged point of much of Rabelais' satire: *L'entrée d'Anthoine de Leive ès terres du Brésil*. This is an imitation of a well-known historical romance *L'entrée de Charlemagne en Espagne*, but the reference is to the attack on Provence by Antoine de Leyva, Charles V's general in 1536, when Constable Anne de Montmorency forced him to a disastrous retreat by devastating and burning

up (*Brésil* = burnt up) the country before him. Brazil had not long been discovered by the Portuguese Pedro Alvarez Cabral.

The thirtieth chapter gives a list of Heroes and Heroines in Hades and their various employments (generally reversing their position and importance) furnished by Epistemon, who has been restored to life by Panurge after the battle with the Giants. It is imitated from the tenth book of Plato's *Republic* and modelled on the *véκνυια*, or account of the dead, as told by Ulysses in the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*, aided by some amusing touches from Lucian. A long list is provided, first from characters in Herodotus and Plutarch, with occupations found for each of them, sometimes on the principles of contrariety (i.e. great kings are made beggars, etc.) or sometimes to be explained by historical adaptations, as when Marcellus is a bean-sheller (*esgousseur de febves*) because he superseded Fabius, and Scipio Africanus cried lye in a sabot (*cornoit la lie*), from his gentile name Cornelius, and many others, the explanation of which is not easy. Then come a number of Roman emperors, heroes of chivalry, Popes, etc., Homeric and historical heroes and heroines, followed at the end by Diogenes the Cynic and Epictetus the needy philosopher, who are paralleled with Minos and Orion in Homer, while Patelin, Le Maire, Villon and the braggart poltroon, the Franc-Archier de Baignolet, occupy the places of Tityos, Tantalus, Sisyphus and Heracles. Some of the strokes of satire are exceedingly comic, but it must be confessed that other comparisons have lost their point, if they ever had any.

In the *Gargantua*, the eleventh chapter is mostly taken up with a list of Proverbs, or rather Anti-Proverbs, which the vicious education of the old monkish system causes the young prince to follow, so as to act in immediate contradiction of accepted maxims of wise and correct conduct. The proverbs are gathered from Hesiod and old-world philosophy, nearly a dozen are from Cordier's *de corrupti sermonis emendatione* (Gryphius 1532), which gives a long list of phrases in the Latinity of the Paris University followed by the French equivalent and then by the proper Latin phrase. Many others are simply current proverbial philosophy of the period, but reversed. The object of the chapter is to burlesque the result of the monkish education in contrast with that provided by Rabelais' own system of moral, intellectual and physical training, which is described later on (cc. 23, 24).

The twenty-second chapter of *Gargantua* supplies a list of games (about 120) which the youthful hero played after dinner. It begins with games at cards, dice, draughts, chess and backgammon. Interesting among the card-games is the game of *cent*, or a hundred, which proves to be the well-known game of *picquet*, according to the judgement of "Cavendish." Other games given here are simpler parts of this rather complicated game, out of which it seems to have grown. These games are followed by others such as shovel-board, fox-and-geese and other social games; then come hunt-the-slipper, forfeits and the like. These are succeeded by games indoors and outdoors, in fact any kind suggested by the fertile imagination or retentive memory of the author. It is to be observed

that the same games are sometimes introduced under different provincial names. The moral intended is that the youth under such training finds recreation in any and every pastime, whether useful or not, but that he merely fritters away his time, the most valuable of all things. In contrast to this the new system in c. 23 supplies cards, "not to play with, but to learn from them a thousand pretty tricks and new inventions, which were all derived from arithmetic."

The *Third Book* furnishes two litanies and a blazon, which are the best known of all these lists. Urquhart has done a great disservice to Rabelais by indefinitely increasing the number of epithets, in a spirit of bravado, as it seems. The first litany in c. 26 consists of a number of epithets hurled by Panurge at Brother John as a mocking compliment to his virile powers; this is retorted in c. 28 by Brother John taunting Panurge as being weak and forlorn in respect of such qualities. Each list has very nearly the same number of epithets. Another injury has been done in the second edition by the printer Fezandat (*F.* 1552), in arranging the lists with two epithets in a line, instead of three, as was the case in the first edition (*W.* 1546). A careful examination of the epithets shews that the system of three in a line was the one Rabelais intended, and moreover it is essential to the proper setting forth of the qualities attributed to each character. For instance, "ebony, brazil-wood, boxwood" are bracketed; they also come together in *P.* 19, where they occur before. Then there are "Raphe-like, Guelphic, Ursine," and three lines in a sequence "gerundive, genitive, active," "gigantal, vital, oval," "magistral, claustral, monachal." The

same feature is to be observed in the litany in c. 28, where may be noticed "choused, cosened, cajoled," "foundered, spavined, galled," from veterinary surgery, and "drawn, cupped, scarified," from the process of cupping. To break up these trios merely to form the list in two lines is to destroy the sequence of ideas. Both in this *Third Book* and in the *Fourth Book*, as printed by Fezandat, much carelessness is to be found, and many misprints, which are corrected in a later edition by Aleman. In iv. 59 a list of dishes, obviously intended by Rabelais for a litany, is spoiled by ignoring the proposed bracketing of similar dishes and printing the dishes mentioned all in one sequence, notwithstanding that there are two lists of twenty-eight each. A few additional names are supplied in each of the litanies of the *Third Book*, furnished either by Rabelais or the printer, and their insertion undoubtedly breaks the three-word arrangement, but the spirit of each chapter is so entirely spoiled by their introduction that I would rather insert them at the end in a note. In this connexion also I would note that in III. 22 *Demogorgon* is changed to *Demiourgon* in ed. 2, and that *Demiourgon* is read in iv. 47 by Fezandat. "Demogorgon" is a fiend and should properly find place in both chapters; *Demiourgos* is a creator in Plato and Galen. The change I attribute to Fezandat.

In c. 38 we have the celebrated blazoning of the fool Triboulet by Pantagruel and Panurge in antiphone. Blazon, of course, is a heraldic term signifying a shield, the arms represented upon it, and the description of such arms by heralds, who to the cry "largesse" which followed added an enumeration of the exploits and

attributes of an in-coming champion. Afterwards, losing its heraldic significance, the word came into common use, and became "a perpetual praise or continued vituperation of him who is its object" (Ch. Fontaine 1548). Thus it became a kind of rhetorical exercise. Sicile, herald at arms to Alphonso, King of Aragon, taking the word partly in its heraldic, partly in its poetical sense, composed a *Blason de toutes armes* (1495) and later a *Blason des Couleurs*, which Rabelais mercilessly ridicules in G. 9. Coquillart (1421-1519) wrote *le Blason des Armes et des Dames*, and in 1504 Gringore inserted *le Blason de Practique* in his *Folles-Enterprises*. These *Blasons* soon became fashionable and everything conceivable was *blasonné*. Rabelais here follows this fashion and adapts a *Cri du Prince des Sotz* of Gringore's (vol. I. p. 201, ed. Elz.) beginning *Sotz lunaticques, sotz estourdis, sotz saiges*, and borrows somewhat from a *Monologue des nouveaulz sotz*, of which two examples may be found in the *Anciennes poésies françaises* (vol. I. pp. 11-16, vol. III. pp. 13-18), compiling a kind of litany descriptive of Triboulet. To him must attach the credit or discredit of giving this *Blason* in antiphone. Epithets derived from any and every source may be found in these lists, from medicine, from the kitchen, from grammatical treatises, from falconry, from astrology, etc., but I think that two sources stand out particularly—terms derived from the office-holders in the Roman Church and a longish list of epithets belonging to birds. These are reminiscent of the *Fifth Book* cc. 2-6, in which all the orders of that church are compared to birds, such as Pope-jay, Cardin-jay, etc.; also a quotation from

Pliny is given (iv. 58) comparing the *cuculli* or cowls of the monks and friars with the *coquilles* or shells which nature has formed in endless variety of shapes, colours, and streaks. It seems as though Rabelais had been struck by the clerical dresses, the singing and bell-ringing attached to the Roman services and had whimsically recorded them in several places of his book.

To these perhaps should be added the list of verbs in the Prologue to the *Third Book*, grotesquely describing the manner in which Diogenes is represented as rolling his tub up and down the Craneium at Corinth. It should be observed that of the sixty-one verbs descriptive of his action the first part merely treats of him turning and twisting the tub about, the second part consists of words relating to the direction of a carriage and horses, while the third part is applicable to the preparation and limbering of a piece of artillery; so that Rabelais is guilty of a very comic anachronism in representing Diogenes as treating his tub as though it were a mortar or a similar piece of ordnance for the purpose of defending the city.

The anatomy of Lent as to his organs and limbs given in iv. 30, 31 may fairly be looked upon as a list or litany of somewhat the same kind as the others. Till recently this anatomy of Lent and the comparison of each of the organs and members with some object to which a resemblance is traced was looked upon as a mere trick of a grotesque fancy, but in 1899 Dr Le Double, a Touraine physician, published a book in which these resemblances were carefully made out and shewn to be reasonable and real. In a few cases the

comparisons may seem far-fetched, but generally the drawings of the anatomical parts contrasted with the representations of their counterparts as given by Dr Le Double from drawings of the objects to which they are compared—in most cases contemporary with Rabelais—are striking in their similarity. In anatomical books that were accessible in the sixteenth century possibly the same or similar comparisons were to be found; in two cases—the *mediastinum* compared to a leather-bottle, and the *pleura* to a crow's-bill—the same resemblances may be seen traced by Ambroise Paré, the celebrated surgeon, who was a younger contemporary of Rabelais (lib. II. c. 8 and lib. IX. c. 4 and lib. X. c. 22), so that the source of the other comparisons may perhaps be found. What Dr Le Double does not point out is that the anatomical lists given in these two chapters are derived from the *de usu partium* of Galen, with two or three items taken from Avicenna's book on Anatomy: but as Avicenna's treatise was probably derived to a great extent from Galen, who also includes these special features in his treatise, it would seem that this was only introduced by a fondness for variety, exhibited elsewhere by our author, or from a complaisance to his medical *confrères*, who still held to the Arabian nomenclature.

In c. 40 a list of cooks is introduced under the command of Brother John, drawn up in eight bands for the purpose of fighting against the Chitterlings, who are attacking the Pantagruelists. This is perhaps intended as a parody of the enrolment of a force of *condottieri*, and serves to exemplify the fertility of invention required for this bestowing of nicknames.

It is a trait worthy of Plautus, whose genius in many ways seems to have descended to his French disciple. Otherwise there is little to remark in this exuberant display.

In the list of foods (c. 59) sacrificed by his followers to Messer Gaster, a slight examination will, I think, shew that the printer, as I have pointed out, was careless in not arranging the dishes as a responsive litany, which was intended by the author. He has merely printed in sequence two lots of twenty-eight dishes which were intended to be in parallel columns. Thus we should read:

Legs of Mutton with garlic sauce,	Shoulders of Mutton with capers,
Pasties with hot sauce,	Pieces of Beef <i>à la royale</i> ,
Pork-cutlets with onion sauce,	Breasts of Veal,
Capons roasted in their relish,	Boiled Hens with blancman- ger,
Woodcocks, Snipes, etc., etc.	Hazel-hens, etc., etc.

A very slight re-arrangement would make a double list of twenty-eight dishes very nearly corresponding in character. The intention of all this chapter is to point out the self-indulgence of Messer Gaster (i.e. the high dignitaries of the Roman Church) in the matter of gormandizing.

The sixtieth chapter proceeds to set forth the dietary of Messer Gaster on the "interlarded" (for "intercalated") lean days. First we find a number of appetizing dishes such as *caviar*, *herrings*, etc., to provoke thirst, which must needs be appeased. This is followed by a list of eighty-four fishes, which may be

served to the gluttonous churchman. In the composition of this list Rabelais has had recourse to the ninth and thirty-second books of his faithful Pliny, in which a list and sometimes an account of a large number of fishes is put down. He also employs the book (*de Piscibus*) of his old friend the Montpellier professor Rondelet, and that of Pierre Gilles *De piscium Massiliensium gallicis et latinis nominibus*, which had been published by Seb. Gryphius, 1533. He may also have consulted Athenaeus. This is succeeded by more egg-dishes and salt-fish and then wine, and lastly by dried fruits, etc.

The last list in the *Fourth Book* (c. 64) is devoted to serpents, reptiles, etc. It is introduced on a very slight pretext. In the previous chapter Eusthenes, during the calm, which had put the travellers out of sorts, had proposed a problem, "why a fasting man's spittle is dangerous to a fasting serpent"; Pantagruel had wisely answered their problems and dissipated their *ennui* by ordering dinner. After this all the company one after another declare themselves satisfied, and Eusthenes declares that for the whole of this day all serpents may abide in safety from his excretion. He then proceeds to enumerate a list of ninety-seven noxious creatures which are in this category. The list is interesting to us principally from the sources from which it is derived. These are Pliny, libb. 8 and 29, Avicenna's *Canon*, libb. iv. and v., Nicander's *Theriaca*, and one or two more isolated instances. Interesting cases are the serpent *argos* which proves to be the ὄφις ἀργός of Hippoc. *Epid.* v. § 36, a passage employed in iv. c. 44 in refutation of a story of Brother John taken from a

Colloquy of Erasmus, and the serpent *Cychriodes* (κυχρείδης ὄφις) which was nurtured by Cychreus, and became the *famulus* of Demeter at Eleusis (Strabo, ix. 393). (The list itself seems to be merely a parade of erudition.)

In the *Fifth Book* there is only one long list and that is taken almost unaltered from *Le Disciple de Pantagruel*. It is a list of dance-songs and it occurs in c. 33*, a chapter which is found only in the MS. of the *Fifth Book*, and of which the authenticity has been much questioned. The list, however, is interesting, as it furnishes the titles of many of the songs and ballads which were popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

RABELAIS ON ART

In art Rabelais seems to have cared but little for painting or sculpture, notwithstanding the wonderful achievements in painting in Rome just before his visits in 1534-6. He knows nothing of the *Stanze* of Raphael which had only just been completed; he only knows of the portrait of Alexander VI by Pinturicchio in the Borgia apartments owing to a scandalous story attached to it. He just mentions the paintings of Charles Carmoy and the pictures on each side of the window on the Hôtel Jacques Cœur at Bourges. On the other hand he is keenly interested in the Castles on the Loire which were built or in course of construction by the Kings or great nobles of France, and his own Abbey

of Thelema is the result of his love for Architecture. Although the details are incorrect, not to say impossible, the general idea is sound and several of the features are suggested by the King's castle at Blois. The Abbey was to be more magnificent than Bonnavet, Chambort or Chantilly, but the number of chambers assigned to it (9332) is enormously in excess of the space for their accommodation. The *Hypnerotomachia*, from which much is borrowed in the details of the Abbey, was the work of a Dominican, the Order which paid special attention to architecture. Rabelais also mentions the two bridges over the Seine, connecting the *Ville* with the *Cité* and the *Université*, which were constructed from the designs of Fra Giocondo, another Dominican. He gives also two or three allusions to Vitruvius, and was a personal friend of Philibert de l'Orme, the distinguished architect from Lyons.

His other *penchant* was Music. Several poems and songs are inserted in his books, whether from his friend San-Gelais, or from old French song-books; the most curious contribution that he makes is the list of fifty-nine musicians in the Prologue to the *Fourth Book*. They are mostly Flemings or Hollanders, for it was in those countries that music found most encouragement, especially at the court of Margaret of Austria, the aunt of Charles V. In Rabelais' list they bear names of a French form, and there are also of course some French musicians. Nearly all of them were trained in the choirs of various European courts, and had achieved distinction as singers before they attained fame as musicians. One point in the time indicated as their *floruit* is that about half of them are

mentioned as preceding the other division by thirty-seven years. This seems to point to the accession to the pontificate of Leo X (1513) for the first group, and that of Julius III (1550) for the second. Many of these musicians have been recorded in the History of Music, and their compositions published in Venice and elsewhere.

Another enigmatical mention of musical history is to be found in IV. 62, where flutes made from the wood of the elder-tree that has grown far from human habitation are preferred to those made from ordinary elder-wood which sprouts from ruinous buildings in peopled neighbourhoods. This is interpreted to mean that sacred music devoted to church services should be "celestial, divine and more abstruse" rather than common and trivial. This refers to a long-standing quarrel between composers who preferred the old Gregorian chants, which admitted only semibreves and the heavy notes, as opposed to the lighter music which allowed quavers and other quicker notes. There exists in the *Decretals* an order of John XXII, dated Avignon 1224 (*Extrav. Comm.* III. I. I), setting forth a detailed prohibition of every note save those of the more solemn church music. Rabelais illustrates all this curiously by citing the proverb: *Non ex quovis ligno Mercurius*, i.e. the god Mercury is not to be represented by a statue carved from any chance wood but from the thyine wood. In this case the meaning is that teaching should be adapted in every case to the learner's capacity. The musical point here mentioned is also brought out with a number of puns in V. 27, a chapter which many critics will not allow to be Rabelais' work.

There is a note by Antoine Leroy, who was *curé* of Meudon with two or three *curés* intervening between himself and Rabelais, to the effect that he had learnt from old men in his parish, who had heard from their fathers, of their former pastor François Rabelais. They describe him as very expert in singing, and assert "that he trained chorister-boys in what was called plain-chants with wonderful kindness and gentleness, that he arranged everything with exactness and order, and that he administered everything in the Church with the utmost vigilance, and that his house afforded refuge and protection to all." This is from a volume called *Floretum philosophicum* (Paris, 1649).

EPILOGUE

An attempt has been made here to give a short account of the life and literary activity of one of the most elusive geniuses that have lived. Rabelais filled so many important positions, generally behind the scenes, and his writings have been so much misjudged and directed to ends quite foreign to their original purpose, that it is still difficult to see them in their proper perspective. The times in which he lived were so stirring and changeful that the policy and aims of the principal actors in the scenes of the political and religious life are very liable to distortion. Much more is this the case with a subordinate under the direction of others, who stand out more clearly to view.

A writer who had played so many different parts in the drama of life, one so versatile in his various duties and occupations and so widely read in ancient literature as well as that of his own country and times, must needs be full of instruction and many-sided in his writings, and therefore difficult to follow exactly by readers four centuries removed from his age. Fortunately the Renaissance, by reason of its intense interest, has been so much studied by historians, artists and others that it is now better understood than some periods less remote in time.

François Rabelais is seen as the son of a considerable

proprietor of land and vineyards in a part of France of the greatest interest, roaming the country round and noting its remarkable features and capacities for hawking and other field-sports, as well as the historical associations of Chinon and elsewhere. This observant nature he carries with him in all his later surroundings, topographical and literary, whether as a theological student at Angers, a Franciscan friar at Fontenay-le-Comte, a Benedictine brother at Maillezais, a student at Paris, or a physician at Lyons, Turin, Rome and Metz. Added to this he had a great capacity for forming friendships, which served him well.

The dead set of his convent at Fontenay against the studies in which he had delighted roused in him a spirit of intense hatred of bigotry, which lasted all his life. In the preface to his Almanack of 1535 and in the last chapter of the *Fifth Book* he quotes approvingly Aristotle's *dictum* that "all men by nature have an eager desire for knowledge," and it seemed to him unnatural and monstrous that men should set their faces against such a desire. Hence came his lifelong rancour against the Mendicants, which was repaid with interest by the Sorbonne. He had also stirred up another enemy in Charles, nephew of Gaucher Sainte-Marthe, whom he had held up to ridicule as Picrochole in the *Gargantua*. Again, his broad philosophical outlook had come into collision with Calvin's doctrine of predestination. Thus he had aroused the enmity of powerful interests which never ceased their persecution during his life.

Of his presumed legal studies at Bourges and Orléans we have but little information. His medical

studies at Paris are more surely known by their results in the degrees at Montpellier.

His life with the printers and in the hospital at Lyons, and his visits to Rome with Bishop (afterwards Cardinal) du Bellay, are better known than other periods. Then comes his stay at Turin with Guillaume du Bellay ; his subsequent life at Orléans and St Maur were eventful in producing his *Third Book*, while his third visit to Rome, of two years' duration, and the composition of the *Fourth Book* under the direction of Cardinals Coligny and du Bellay were very momentous. After this came the censure of his books, the resignation of his *cures* of Meudon and St Christopher of Jambet and his death in 1553, of which last there is only a traditional record.

Of his books, the *Pantagruel* and *Gargantua* are claimed as written to cheer the tedium of his patients in the hospital, the *Third Book* is in the interest of his fellow-countrymen in the war against Charles V, while the *Fourth Book* is purposed to support the policy of France in opposition to the usurpations of the Roman Church and its doctrine, or rather the perversions of it.

The coarseness of some parts of the book has prevented it from being universally read and known. The excuse that this style of writing was employed as a stalking-horse, behind which the real shafts of his satire were directed, can hardly be accepted by modern critics. Outspokenness generally was tolerated and excused more at that time than now. Even Erasmus was not clear of this charge. A French writer has asserted bluntly that, as the early part of Rabelais' life was spent among monks and friars and the later

part in the medical world, it is not surprising that he fell in with the freedom of speech usual in those professions. We can only admit the fact and deplore it. Tiraqueau's outspoken book *de legibus connubialibus*, from which Rabelais borrows considerably towards the end of the *Third Book*, must be held responsible for much that is objectionable.

As he borrowed freely from other sources, ancient and modern, so his own books have supplied much matter and many ideas to writers who succeeded him. Brantôme and Pasquier were steeped in his writings, while careful readers will see that Montaigne owes more than he acknowledges. Molière of course is deeply indebted, but it is surprising how little Balzac and Victor Hugo have penetrated beneath the surface of this writer. It is to the credit of English writers that many of them have seen the merit of the *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel*; Ben Jonson employs the book, though less than we should expect, while Shakespeare's debts in that quarter are very small. Of our other dramatists Nashe and the author of the play *Lingua* are remarkable for the amount of their borrowings. Bacon has several allusions and excerpts, the universally learned Burton in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* derives much from this source, Sir Thomas Browne takes large handfuls, Butler's *Hudibras* echoes style as well as matter, while the pillagings of Sterne in *Tristram Shandy* are notorious. It is not so well known that Scott in many of his *Waverley Novels* has drawn much from this source.

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

OF THE EXTANT WRITINGS AND CORRESPONDENCE OF FRANÇOIS RABELAIS AND OF SOME DOCUMENTS BEARING ON HIS LIFE

Letter of Rabelais to Budaeus	March 4, 1520
Letter of Budaeus to Rabelais	April 12, 1521
Letter of Budaeus to Rabelais	Jan. 27, 1524
Rhymed letter to Bouchet	Sept. 6 (? 1525)
Rhymed letter of Bouchet in reply	Sept. 8 (? 1525)
Matriculation of Rabelais at Montpellier ...	Sept. 17, 1530
Baccalaureat of Rabelais at Montpellier ...	Dec. 1, 1530
Epistle of dedication (<i>Manardi Epistolae medicinales</i>) to A. Tiraqueau (Lyons)	June 3, 1532
Epistle of dedication (<i>Hippocratis Aphorismi</i>) to Geoffroi d'Estissac	July 15, 1532
Epistle of dedication (<i>Testamentum Cuspidii</i>) to Amaury Bouchard	Sept. 4, 1532
Letter to ERASMUS	Nov. 30, 1532
[<i>Grandes Croniques</i>	? Aug. 3, 1532]
Appointment as Physician to the Hospital at Lyons	Oct. 1532
PANTAGRUEL (also 1533, 1537, 1542)	(? Nov. 3) 1532
PANTAGRUELINE PROGNOSTICATION (? Monday after Epiphany)	1533
Almanack (Preface)	1533
Epistle of dedication (<i>Marliani Topographia antiquae Romae</i>) to Bp du Bellay	Aug. 31, 1534
GARGANTUA (also 1535, 1537, 1542)	(? Aug. Oct.) 1534
Almanack (Preface)	1535
Supersession as Physician at Lyons	March 5, 1535
<i>Supplicatio pro Apostasia</i>	1535
1st Letter to the Bishop of Maillezais	Dec. 30 1535
Answer to petition by Paul III	Jan. 17, 1536
2nd Letter to the Bishop of Maillezais	Jan. 28, 1536
3rd Letter to the Bishop of Maillezais	Feb. 15, 1536
Second Petition (<i>Supplicatio Rabelesi</i>) to Paul III (cf. <i>R.E.R.</i> VII. 260-9)	(?) 1536

Doctorate at Montpellier...	...	...	May 22,	1537
Lectures on Hippocrates' <i>Prognostic</i>	...	...	Sept. 27,	1537
Three letters from Bp Pellicier at Venice to				
Rabelais at Turin.	July 23,	Oct. 17,		1540
March 20	...	...		1541
Letter from Rabelais to Antoine Hullot	...	March 1	(? 1544)	
Privilege of Francis I for Third Book	...	...	Sept. 19,	1545
THIRD BOOK (W). Ch. Wechel, Paris	...	...	Jan.	1546
Letter from Metz to Card. du Bellay	...	...	Feb. 6	(? 1547)
FOURTH BOOK (A). P. de Tours, Lyon	...			1548
Almanack (title-page)	...	...		1548
SCIOMACHIA. Seb. Gryph., Lyon	...			1549
Privilege of Henry II for Fourth Book and				
revised Third Book	...	...	Aug. 6,	1550
Collation to St Martin of Meudon	...	Jan. 18,	1551	(n. s.)
Epistle of Dedication of Fourth Book to Odet				
Coligny, Cardinal of Châtillon	...	...	Jan. 28,	1552
THIRD BOOK revised (F). Fezandat, Paris	...	...	Jan. 28,	1552
FOURTH BOOK (B). Fezandat, Paris	...	...	Jan. 28,	1552
Resignation of the <i>cure</i> of Meudon	...	...	Jan. 9,	1553
Resignation of the <i>cure</i> of St Christopher of				
Jambet	...	...	Jan. 9,	1553
Death of François Rabelais	...	...	? April	1553
L'ISLE SONANTE (16 chapters)	...	...		1562
FIFTH BOOK (47 chapters)		1564
MS. of <i>Fifth Book</i> (48 chapters) discovered	...			1840

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